Daily Report

East Europe

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January 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-027 *8 February 1996*

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Albania: Christopher's Visit 'Revived' Kosovo Prospects

AU0802092996 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 7 Feb 96 p 10

[Commentary by Vladimir Prela: "International Diplomacy and Kosova—Dayton Prescribed Autonomy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's Balkan tour has revived Kosovar political life, at a time when official and political circles in Tirana, preoccupied with musical chairs, have failed to notice it. The leading U.S. diplomat mentioned Kosova, as never before, among the conditions the United States is laying down for Yugoslavia's integration in the international community. This is the second time that Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has been presented with conditions for its international recognition. The 15 EU foreign ministers did the same thing last week. The Western press wrote about that meeting, "rarely can a diplomatic day have been marked by so many contradictory statements and so much confusion." At any rate, neither did united Europe see fit to hurry to the support of Serbia and Montenegro. Nevertheless, while the United States and united Europe are one in their hesitation to reward Mr. Milosevic for his contribution toward reaching the Dayton peace agreement, their public reasons for this appear to differ. If Washington mentioned Kosova, Brussels had Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] as its excuse. From a legal angle, many EU member states, such as France and Britain, have no need to perform an act of recognition: In one sense of international law, their relations were never interrupted and do not need reestablishing. Other countries, particularly Germany, have a different interpretation. Even though they had no need to interrupt relations, they underline that the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) represents nothing but two successor states of Titoite Yugoslavia, and as such requires renewed recognition. Germany, with the support of the European Commission, has insisted on the condition that Belgrade and Skopje must first mutually recognize one another. For her part, France refused to lay down prior conditions. Greece, in its readiness to sow confusion, announced that it would object if Belgrade recognized Skopje under the name of "Macedonia." Belgrade has announced that it has not decided even an approximate timetable. The result is that everything is ambiguous, but officially there is a "prior condition," either that of Kosova, imposed by the United States, or Macedonia, imposed by the Europeans. President Rugova's spokesman called Christopher's statement "testimony to the care and support the United States is giving to the people of Kosova and their leadership, headed by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the republic." Yet Prishtina, while applauding the statement in Belgrade and calling it a harbinger of talks, avoided the major fact that the U.S. Administration sees this condition as an element in the implementation of the Dayton agreement. This detail entirely changes the thrust of the discussion, demolishes the entire propaganda edifice constructed by the Kosovar leadership, and raises the problem of the inauguration of an entirely new chapter in Albanian-Serbian relations. The entry of the Kosova issue into this phase will mean finding an Albanian partner to talk to the Belgrade Government. If anything was signed at Dayton relating to talks about achieving autonomy for Kosova and respecting human rights, this rules Mr. Rugova's team out of the game, because they are prepared for another agenda. They repeated their own agenda as they made their most recent statement that presupposes dialogue without premises and preconditions with the mediation of an authorized third party, and a platform of talks on the basis of a plan for Kosova as an independent and neutral state. If these conditions were laid down the day after Mr. Christopher's statement in Belgrade, Prishtina-Belgrade dialogue is no doubt still far from becoming a reality. Otherwise, we will doubtless find ourselves faced with spectacular changes, which could remove Kosova from the sphere of academic discussion onto the lines of the politics of dialogue, leading to tangible and farsighted suggestions.

Albania: Christopher's 'Refusal' To Recognize FRY Seen

AU0702220696 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 7 Feb 96 p 1

[Commentary by Blerim Re... "A Clear U.S. Message"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The two visits by U.S. secretaries of state to Belgrade within five years seem to have conveyed contradictory signals about the Yugoslav crisis and U.S. strategic policy in the region. Former Secretary of State Baker, the last Western diplomat to visit Belgrade in June 1991, just before the final collapse of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], defended "united Yugoslavia," i.e., the legal and international status of the last Yugoslav state. His successor, Christopher, visiting the Serbian capital the day before yesterday, refused U.S. recognition of any legal and international continuity between the defunct state and the new one, which is still not recognized internationally. The U.S. secretary of state's refusal to recognize the Serbian-Montenegrin federation relates to the same "conditions and obstacles" as those of the EU Council of Ministers. Christopher, in Belgrade, was even more categorical than his colleagues in Brussels: Washington will not recognize Serbia and Montenegro or allow their admission to international

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organizations and financial institutions without a settlement of the status of Kosova. He avoided a direct answer to journalists' questions of whether settling the status of Kosova "implied autonomy or independence." Such restraint was to be expected from the main diplomat on the world scene, as was his repetition of the official U.S. stand on Kosova: "respect for the civil and political rights of the Albanians of Kosova." It would have been excessive for a diplomat of Christopher's caliber to go into the details of such an official U.S. "gloves-on" formula. Nor can abrupt "textbook" replies be expected from senior diplomats. In the end, although Baker was "the last defender of the unity of the SFRY," the United States was the power that set in motion the UN Security Council and the main sponsor of the "resolution of dissolution" for the former Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FRY]. There is therefore no place for either euphoric optimism or pessimism. This official U.S. message on Kosova, uttered for the first time in Belgrade after the first official talks with the Serbian president "in his own front yard," is a message regarding a problem that the Serbian president considers "an internal affair." It is nevertheless made at a time when the Americans too have laid down "a red line, whose violation would threaten U.S. strategic interests in the region" and, if nothing else, can be taken as at least a confirmation of international denial of Serbian sovereignty over Kosova. Otherwise, what state sovereignty and what Serbian jurisdiction over Kosova can Belgrade really possess, if not just anybody but the number two in the administration of the main world power tells the number one of the state that pretends to hold Kosova as "a part" what he must do and must not do, and in his own home at that?

Albania: PS's Zeneli Interviewed on Kosova Policy

AU0802093796 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 7 Feb 96 p 3

[Interview with Bashkim Zeneli, deputy of the Socialist Party, PS, and deputy chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission, by Ilir Alia in Tirana on 6 February: "The Kosova Cause—Finding Allies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Our foreign policy must focus on choosing partners for the cause of Kosova," said Bashkim Zeneli, deputy chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission, following the meeting with Foreign Minister Serreqi organized yesterday in the offices of the parliament, which dealt with steps being taken to solve the problem of Kosova following the Dayton agreement.

[Alia] Why did the commission call for this discussion with Foreign Minister Serreqi?

[Zeneli] The main reason why we summoned the foreign minister to this meeting was so he would give us a clear opinion following the Dayton agreement. Everybody knows that a new situation has been created in our region; how must we then respond regarding the problem of Kosova? Serreqi gave us an answer at the commission's meeting. The minister gave the view of the Albanian state, which is that we are not for violent changes of borders, but hold to the principles of self-determination and of dialogue involving a third party.

[Alia] What did the commission think of the minister's reply?

[Zeneli] This is indeed a very delicate issue and the Albanian state has internationalized the problem, but I think it has also considered it more from an academic angle and for public consumption, instead of working consistently toward a solution. Bearing in mind the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one has the impression that the problem of Kosova has been "alleviated."

[Alia] The Albanian side accepts talks, but in the presence of a third party. How do you think this can happen?

[Zeneli] We support this, but it must be clearly defined who the third party will be, and what powers he will have to compel Serbia to keep to the schedule. This is the first problem. The second is how to overcome the obstacle that Serbia does not agree to talks in the presence of a third party. So, neither should our diplomacy stand routinely repeating that we are for talks. The United States has provided some signals in the last few days. Now our voice must be heard more loudly and we must focus on allies. Our diplomacy must have a concrete agenda for what we are going to do today and tomorrow, because there is no point in asking the Philippines to support us on this issue.

[Alia] What is the opinion of the political forces in Kosova?

[Zeneli] There has been and remains a kind of confusion among their options. You can tell this from the differences between the statements of their leaders. A policy of Gandhi-ism has been pursued, but what are the results of this policy in plain Albanian? Then, what are the parliament and the government of Kosova doing? The important thing is for the internationalization of Kosova not to remain a slogan.

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Albania: PS Said Planning 'Bloody Return to Power'

AU0702133196 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 6 Feb 96 p 3

[Article by Edi Paloka: "'We Will Clash Physically at the Polling Stations'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Violence was once again the key word of the fundamentalist bosses of the Socialist Party [PS] at yesterday's Tirana district conference. After listening to Gramoz Ruci prescribing the agenda, his appointees concentrated on the report delivered by the "distinguished intellectual" Musa Ulqini, PS chairman for Tirana. Despite his bad grammar and the meaningless sentences Ulqini spouted, the militants in the hall listened to him with interest, applauding whenever the Tirana PS chairman demonstrated his bravery. After harshly attacking the Electoral Law, Ulqini announced that they had nevertheless found methods to "entirely dominate the polling stations." "We are prepared even for physical clashes," the PS chairman for Tirana said, thus "earning" the applause and hysteria of the audience. Such statements, and also actual acts of violence, have become the sign and aim of this party headed by the former interior ministry, whose deputies are former procurators of the courts of the dictatorship and which is nominating the lapdogs and spawn of the dictator's offices as candidates in the next elections. Although their most recent hooligan behavior in their parliament with their howls and banging of fists requires no interpretation, PS Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi nevertheless undertook to comment on it. Mentioning what T. Shehu and P. Arbnori had said about the Socialists' rowdy behavior in the parliament, Pellumbi said, "We say to you that on the contrary we showed a high level of civilized behavior. Our group together with other opposition deputies did a very good job and sent a message of democracy to the electorate." Thus fist- banging, vulgar insults, threats, and hysterical howls are the message of democracy that Servet Pellumbi is sending to the Albanians. He was also warmly received and applauded by Ruci's appointees when he asked them if he was right. Thus violence is the message of the PS bosses. They tried to start a civil war in 1991. They continued their efforts by issuing calls for blood and the cracking of heads. They tried this in the parliament, too. With their own lips, they announced that they had prepared a strategy of violence and tension for the next election campaign, but they have made a serious error. Even though innocent people shed their blood in 1991, they failed in their efforts to hold on to power by violence. They failed in their efforts for the next four years, and will fail again. They must only remember that nobody will forgive them. The Albanians have shown themselves to be very tolerant so far, even though you only have to look at the faces of some of the people leading the PS to become annoyed. However, this tolerance cannot last when the criminals of yesterday dream again of violence and a bloody return to power.

Albania: PS Vows End to Public Sector 'Politicization'

AU0702113996 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Feb 96 p 2

[Editorial: "To All Civil Service Employees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are a total of 54,000 public sector employees in Tirana, from ordinary teachers to senior civil servants. We tell them that the Socialist Party [PS] will not interfere with your political convictions, but aims to divest the public sector of the extreme politicization that is noticeable today. Professionalism will be the main criterion for the assessment of your work. Be careful! Do not put your professional skills at risk through political work for the ruling party or any other party. We appeal to you not to fall into the trap of identifying yourself with the ruling party in the course of its campaign, which has recently become so intense. This campaign is especially intolerable in the case of employees of the National Intelligence Service, the personnel of the Interior Ministry, and the judiciary. We emphasize once again that no able employee or specialist, whatever his political convictions might be, should be afraid of losing his job when we come to power.

Albania: Ministry Rejects 'National Revival' Party

AU0702133096 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 6 Feb 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Party of National Revival Not Approved"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Justice Ministry yesterday refused to recognize the Party of Albanian National Revival [Partia e Rimekembjes Kombetare Shqiptare]. Justice Minister Frasheri communicated his refusal to approve the documentation, submitted on 8 December alongside five other parties, directly to the party's presidium, which consists of Abdi Baleta, Ferdinand Roco, and Agron Cika. The black spot that led this party to not being approved was the first chapter of Article Six of the Program, which concerns the party's aims. The party seeks the unification of Albanian lands, whatever the sacrifice. Frasheri also criticized the term "liberation of enslaved Albanian lands" used in the Program.

However, more interesting were the cases of five other parties, whose applications have been delayed at the

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Justice Ministry. Sources close to the presidiums of these parties, which according to the law must not make themselves public until the day they are legalized, report that an application for the communist party has been lodged under a new name in order to elude prohibition. Of the four other parties, the most interesting is the application from the reformed Socialists.

Albania: Democratic Party Plans Assembly for 4 Apr

AU0702112596 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 6 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by P. Re.: "Democratic Party Decides on Congress, Plans Manifesto"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The Democratic Party has decided that its National Assembly will be held on 4 April, when the ruling party will meet to decide who its candidates for the next parliament will be. The assembly's main topic will be how the PD's manifesto has been carried out so far and the new alternatives the party proposes. Berisha also spoke at yesterday's meeting of the National Council in the Palace of Congresses, and made specific proposals. The president expressed the view that committees in different fields must be formed to draw up the new manifesto before the electoral campaign begins. Berisha also proposed that new sections within the party be created. The approved proposals are that the ministers themselves will head the committees to draw up the new manifesto, with the help of deputies and specialists in their fields. The second proposal concerned the organization of the PD itself, and involved the new appointments of Ferdinand Xhaferi as director of the Political Section and Albert Brojka as director of foreign relations, and made Ylli Vejsiu in charge of the party's internal organization. Berisha also spoke yesterday about recent events in Albanian politics. PD General Secretary Tritan Shehu said, "The former communists have decided to line up in a common front, as decided at a secret meeting between Imami, Ruci, and Gjinushi. Their aim was to draw in other parties, and they approached the Rightist League through the fascist Kalakulla. However, the league did not fall for such a trap." Assembly Chairman Pjeter Arbnori also spoke at the meeting, talking more about the work of the parliament and the new Electoral Law. He said, "The law will be published and distributed everywhere, to show how democratic it is." The PD has thus become the second parliamentary party to announce the date of its assembly, after the Socialist Party, which will hold its congress on 23 March.

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Bulgaria: Videnov Invites Balkan FM's to Sofia

AU0702101696 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0500 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Zhan Videnov returned from Davos, where he took part in the World Economic Forum. The last day of the conference was devoted to the Balkans.

In his statement at the session dealing with the future of the Balkans, Prime Minister Videnov invited the foreign ministers of the Balkan states to meet in Sofia. The goal is to continue the dialogue related to all-Balkan cooperation, interrupted by the war in former Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria: Zhelev, France's Douen View NATO Expansion

AU0802111296 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] On 8 February, President Zhelyu Zhelev received Jean-Philippe Douen, chief of the French Army General Staff.

The military and military-political cooperation between Bulgaria and France was the main topic of the conversation. The Bulgarian head of state expressed his satisfaction with the development of military relations between the two countries.

The future eastward expansion of NATO was discussed during the conversation. According to General Douen, Russia must not view the eastward expansion of NATO as an insult, but as a part of the European process of guaranteeing world security.

For his part, President Zhelev declared that Bulgaria is an independent and sovereign state, and it will not agree to any other country, including Russia, deciding for us what organization the country could join.

This information was conveyed to us by General Stefan Dimitrov, chief of the president's military office, who attended the meeting.

Bulgaria: Zhelev, Dogan Discuss Kurdzhali Situation

AU0702190496 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev and Ahmed Doagn, Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] leader, held a meeting on 7 February. The meeting, which lasted 70 minutes, was attended by Rasim Musa, Kurdzhali mayor-elect, and other DPS leaders.

After the meeting, Ahmed Dogan made a laconic statement. We informed the president about the processes in Kurdzhali after the court annulment of the election results there, Dogan said.

Ahmed Dogan promised to divulge more details concerning DPS intentions after the meeting of the movement's Central Council. The only thing he agreed to say was that the DPS will assume a hard line vis a vis the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and its parliamentary majority.

Presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov said that the president shares the DPS leadership's concern about the vacuum that has been created in Kurdzhali, and, in this connection, the Bulgarian head of state has invited BSP representatives to a meeting tomorrow.

Bulgaria: 'Dealer' Discloses Orion, BSP Money Deals

AU0802080896 Sofia SEGA in Bulgarian 1-7 Feb 96 No 4, pp 8-11

[Article by Angelina Petrova: "Oriongate?"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The Pavel Trenev Tape

After the Mladenov tape about the tanks, a second cassette has appeared with the voice of dealer Pavel Trenev. Dozens of copies are being hawked around Sofia, reportedly at prices of up to $1,000. If what Trenev says is true, then we can expect a political earthquake of unprecedented force. If, again, it is all lies, who orchestrated the scandal? The SEGA magazine considered that it is better to acquaint its readers with the contents of the cassette, just in case.

Last week, apparently, Zhan Videnov swallowed the hook with which Ivan Kostov was hoping to land him high and dry.

Kostov asked what money Videnov and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] had received from the dealer Pavel Trenev. Videnov declared that Trenev is a crazy petty criminal and had forged a Central Cooperative Bank [CCB] document.

These are rather rude things to say regarding a man to whom the BSP used to turn over millions of dollars and who, if the reports are correct, helped to finance the BSP election campaign, the Socialist newspapers, and notorious Orion boss Rumen Spasov personally.

The whereabouts of Trenev himself are unknown, but he may reappear on the scene at any moment, like Hamlet's father.

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A Court Case Is Already Under Way

The shady affair cannot fail to be revealed publicly, because the Swiss-based Blonde Investment Corporation has already brought an action against the CCB for $1 million. This is only a pilot action. If the Sofia City Court decides in the plaintiff's favor, then the Swiss company will immediately lodge a second claim, this time for $6 million. The CCB will then have to try to recoup the money from the circle of friends, that is, from Orion and the BSP.

The sheet of paper that Videnov waved about in parliament, to show what a rascal Trenev was, was actually a contract between Blonde and the CCB for $3 million. The document is not exactly forged, but is of no legal value, because Pavel Trenev signed it on the CCB's behalf, although he has never been employed by that bank.

However, Blonde Investment has in its possession another document that, this time, is genuine. It certifies that, on 27 April 1995, the CCB did indeed receive two credit transfers totalling $3 million dollars from the Swiss company. The document is authenticated with the bank's seal and the signatures of responsible bank officials.

According to CCB sources, Misha Cherniy, the owner of the $6 million, procured the document personally. Last summer, Cherniy flew into Sofia and first visited Stoyan Shukerov, chief of the Credit Department of the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB]. Cherniy then sat down with his bodyguards in the office of Katya Zarkova, who at that time was in charge of the CCB, refusing to leave until he secured the cherished document. Zarkova then resigned.

At the moment, we do not know what lies behind this strange event. What is known is that the money has disappeared. To save its own skin, the bank will have to present to the court its own documents that show the final recipients of the millions of greenbacks. Whether it will do so is an open question.

The CCB has the lawyers Khristo Danov [former interior minister in the Filip Dimitrov administration] and Yordan Sokolov [leader of the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces] working on the case.

Sources in the special services say that the end recipients are planning active measures. One of the possible alternatives is to work directly with the present CCB chief, Stoyan Aleksandrov. The idea is reportedly to lure him to visit a neighboring state by sending him an invitation to make a business trip there and, once he is there, to convince him that it will be healthier for the CCB to lose the case.

Political Scandal

However, if this does not come off, the entire battle will be transferred to the judicial field. Sources in intelligence predict that a grandiose political deal may be struck, because the affair is essentially a political matter.

Ivan Kostov has a copy of a CCB document certifying that some of the Swiss money was transferred to a BSP company. The person who is shown to have received the lev equivalent of $170,000 is Veselin Zhekov. Rumen Spasov collected $3 million, which Pavel Trenev, the man whom Videnov called "a petty criminal," admits himself in a signed confession.

What sort of person is Trenev? Is he the Lord Almighty in his select profession? Until last May, he was a private dealer with select Sofia clientele. He was regarded as a top-class dealer. With his computer, telephone, and fax machine, he handled millions in his private office, quickly securing big profits for his clients through schemes known only to himself. According to initial information from the BNB, he made his profits from speculating on changes in foreign currency rates on the interbank market.

Trenev paid his clients personally. It is said that he obtained his bodyguard from Rumen Spasov. Trenev, himself, claims that, as a dealer, he handled the flow of money between Rumen Spasov and Misha Cherniy, a Russian Jew who became rich in recent years by dealing in diamonds and rare metals from Russia. He is thought to he a representative of the Russian mafia.

The Money Channel

According to Trenev, the two partners, Spasov and Cherniy, had a channel for exchanging foreign currency in suitcases. The money came from a Swiss airport to Sofia, where Trenev handled it for a specified period. Part of the money went to Spasov, and Trenev gave the rest of it to persons specified by the Orion chief.

The dealer claims that, in 1994, Cherniy delivered $10.5 million to Spasov in suitcases and supplied a further $6 million in 1995, this time officially, by means of a contract exchanged between Cherniy and Spasov by fax. working on the case.

The amount stated in the contract is $3 million, which was supposed to reach the CCB on 27 April. On that day, however, Cherniy received an alarming telephone call from Sofia that the money had not arrived. The businessman immediately transferred another $3 million. The people in Sofia received both amounts and rubbed their hands with glee.

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The contract states that the money is made available to the CCB for one week at a daily interest rate of 1 percent. On 4 May, all the money had to be returned to Cherniy's Swiss company Blonde Investment. This, however, did not happen.

The Kidnapping

On 9 May, Trenev was kidnapped by the bodyguard hired to protect him. This, at any rate, is what Trenev says. No other version is available at present, although the circle of friends [Orion] are the persons most likely to derive benefit from his disappearance.

Later on, the dealer recounts his hardships in a letter to the Sofia City Prosecutor's Office. He claims that V.D. [not further identitified] forced him, "under threat of physical mistreatment and danger to the members of my family, to hand over $35,000 in cash." Later, Trenev handed over to an authorized person "the vehicles belonging to me"—a Toyota jeep and a BMW, as well as an Opel Corsa belonging to his sister.

On 15 May, V.D. took Trenev to Athens. Once they had arrived there, according to the letter to the prosecutor's office, the bodyguard milked him twice more—for sums of $8,000 and $20,000, and also forced Trenev to hand over to a Greek citizen his third car, in which the victim, kidnapper, and a third Bulgarian travelled to Greece.

Rescue Comes By Chance

It is hard to say what exactly the kidnapper planned to do with Trenev. If he had any plan, it fell apart on 11 June, when the local police arrested V.D. after a fight, which Trenev claims was started by the third Bulgarian. Thus, "I had the opportunity to escape," Trenev explains.

However, before returning to his homeland, he had to endure a further kidnapping. Misha Cherniy's men took Trenev to their boss in Israel. There, Trenev again saved his skin, because he managed to convince Cherniy that traces still remained of his millions in the CCB. Cherniy then flew to Sofia to collect the cherished piece of paper from the CCB. Later, Trenev also showed up in the capital, again kidnapped or brought home, this time by officers of the Central Service for Combating Organized Crime [CSCOB].

"We received a tipoff that a Bulgarian had been kidnapped and taken to Athens. That is how we came across Trenev," an officer from the service said. In fact, they were looking for Dimitur Dimitrov, the third member of the company, who is known as Mityo the Trickster. The tipoff to the Central Service came from the latter's brother. The Trickster's role in the affair is obscure. According to an unconfirmed special report, he is the person who some time ago brought Rumen Spasov into contact with Misha Cherniy.

The report tails off here. Why and in what capacity was the Trickster with Trenev and the bodyguard in Greece? According to the man from the CSCOB, "it was important for us to follow up a specific tipoff."

Trenev was held for about three weeks in a CSCOB safe house. They recorded his statements and then let him go. CSCOB Chief Lyubomir Levicharov made his report on the case to Paraskev Paraskevov, secretary at the Interior Ministry. Paraskevov, for his part, ordered all the documents to be handed over to the Economic Department of the National Security Service. He reprimanded Levicharov that, once having allowed his service to get involved in this case, he was actually working against the BSP. Very soon, Levicharov was dismissed, but on other grounds.

Chavdar Petrov, chief of the Economic Department in national counterintelligence, has denied any knowledge of the "Trenev affair." He said that the rumors that the documents from the CSCOB are insinuations, claiming that the motive was to put the CSCOB in a bad light.

However, sources in the CSCOB claim that now no one knows where Pavel Trenev is. According to them, Paraskevov asked them for his address recently. According to the Interior Ministry secretary, said to be very close to the circle of friends [Orion], Rumen Spasov was very anxious to see the dealer. However, the antimafia officers were unable to be of assistance. Later they reportedly received information that Spasov had managed to speak to Trenev.

According to other sources, Trenev is "somewhere" in Bulgaria. He is reportedly being guarded by people who consider it essential that he remain alive, as they hope to recoup their losses when the dealer starts working again. Misha Cherniy also needs Trenev alive. The international businessman has credits to collect in Sofia that date from the time of the suitcases of foreign currency. The dealer knows the names of the debtors and can prove how much they owe to the last cent. Most of them are members of Orion's "circle of friends."

As for the circle of friends, for them it would be most advantageous if Trenev had disappeared without a trace when he was first kidnapped and was taken to Greece. All traces of the missing $6 million would then have been lost. Who knows, maybe now the dealer is sunning himself in Bermuda shorts somewhere in the Bahamas?

However, the moment was missed. Cherniy knows where the money is. He also has a document. From now on, an undesirable incident would only add fuel to the flames of the scandal that has been ignited.

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Bulgaria: Council Discusses Plight of Defense Plants

AU0802075996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Report by Sonya Karlova from Radio Plovdiv]

[FBIS Translated Text] Except for the Vazov Engineering Plants in Sopot, the other companies in the national military-industrial complex are experiencing serious financial difficulties. This conclusion was reached at today's meeting of the Federal Council for the Military-Industrial Complex in the town of Karlovo. The council also discussed the problems connected with mass privatization. The representatives of the trade union organizations called upon the employers to ensure the regular payment of wages and to guarantee employment.

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Czech Republic: Ministry Studies Nuclear Status, NATO

AU0702181496 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by "km": "The Republic Has No Concept Regarding Nuclear Weapons"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—To date, the government has no definite opinion on the conceivable deployment of nuclear arms in the Republic, although it approved an atomic law at the beginning of January that bans any kind of handling of nuclear weapons on the territory of the state.

The ministers have not yet dealt with the stand regarding nuclear weapons, and, according to sources close to the government, they adopted the law without realizing its possible consequences for the security of the state. The North Atlantic alliance, membership in which the Republic seeks, prefers the legal order of its new members not to rule out the deployment of nuclear arms.

The Foreign Ministry announced yesterday that, so far, no one can say what his strategy in this sphere is—for instance, whether the Republic will advocate the nonnuclear status of the type Norway has among the NATO states. "We are studying these issues," Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vit Kurfurst said yesterday. Nevertheless, he added that the article of law regarding the ban on nuclear arms should not be a hindrance to the conceivable integration of the Republic into the alliance.

Czech Republic: Lux Seconds Klaus Statement on EU

AU0802080296 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Feb 96 p 12

[Report by Tomas Skrivanek on statement by Czech Agriculture Minister Josef Lux; place and date not given: "Lux Agrees with Klaus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The standards of Czech agriculture are competitive, and it has a chance of succeeding on the global scale. At the time of entry of the Czech Republic into the European Union, the agricultural policy in its present form will probably no longer exist.

"The agricultural policy of the European Union cannot be sustained in its present form. Four independent studies prepared for the agriculture commission of the European Union clearly indicate that a change must be made in agricultural policy." That is how Agriculture Minister Josef Lux reacted to the lecture delivered by the Czech prime minister at the economic forum in Davos. The change in EU economic policy is necessary, according to Lux, because the present system is too costly. The agricultural policy draws more than 50 percent of the entire EU budget. The transformation of the EU agricultural policy will probably lead to support of farmers' revenues instead of the current practice of supporting prices. The present system leads to the loss of competitiveness because of the conserved structure of production and thereby lets the bad managers survive instead of helping the good ones. The change is also necessary because of the ever-growing globalization and, in extension, the competition on the world scale.

Minister Lux expressed the opinion that, when the Czech Republic joins the European Union, a common agricultural policy will not be an unsurmountable problem. The stands and opinions of the European Union and the Czech Republic will converge in the future. Thanks to the macroeconomic changes in the Czech Republic after 1989, changes could occur in agriculture that led to its competitiveness. This was observed even by the study of the state of agriculture conducted by the OECD before our admission as a member. The situation of Czech agriculture in basic commodities is well balanced—exports of milk and cereals are slightly higher than imports. Imports dominate exports only in tropical fruits.

Czech Republic: Russians Return to Political Espionage

AU0802075896 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Sabina Slonkova: "BIS Estimates the Number of Agents at Hundreds"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Although the Russian secret services have focused on obtaining economic strategic information since the end of the Cold War, over the past two years they have been returning to political espionage, according to intelligence experts. The annual report of the Security Information Service [BIS] indicates that the intelligence services of the Russian Federation, which permanently operate in the Republic, are particularly interested in information on domestic and foreign policies. "Their activity in the area of political intelligence will increase, and their endeavors to build a firm position still before integration of the Czech Republic into the European Union or NATO," the BIS report states.

BIS estimates that some 400 agents and collaborators of the Russian intelligence services are currently active in the country. According to civilian counterespionage, 56 of these 400 are officially accredited to the Republic as diplomats. BIS has even reached the conclusion that Russia has filled 50 percent of diplomatic posts

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with intelligence service staff or people suspected of espionage.

The top secret BIS annual report states that both Russian civilian intelligence and military espionage operatives are permanently on the territory of the Republic. "They are obtaining information from diplomats at the representation offices of the Russian Federation in Prague, the trade mission, the Russian Culture and Information Center, and the consulate general, from private firms, and through the officially registered Russian media," the BIS report reads.

Interior Ministry Spokesman Jan Subert said earlier that civilian counterintelligence is studying the activity of Russian intelligence agents but has not managed to convict a single one so far. "Civilian counterintelligence is aware of them, knows them, and they are followed. To prove their criminal activity and convict them is difficult. Before deployment in a particular country, professional intelligence agents undergo special training that is largely focused on methods of preventing anyone from proving their espionage activities," Subert said.

Czech Republic: BIS Fears Russian Influence in Elections

AU0702210796 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by "ina": "BIS Fears Russian Agents Might Influence the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Security Information Service [BIS] does not rule out that the Russian intelligence services permanently operating in the territory of the Republic would attempt to influence the parliamentary elections.

The top secret BIS annual report, available to government members and a close circle of deputies, indicates a fear that Russian secret services will publish information before the elections that could harm some political parties and their leaders. Nevertheless, the report does not specify whom it may affect. BIS only assumes that the Russian side will endeavor to support those politicians who are inclined toward closer cooperation with the Russian Federation.

"It could be something similar to the accusation of espionage against Polish Prime Minister Oleksy. Such an accusation is time-consuming and difficult to verify," stated one member of Klaus's Cabinet, who had read the BIS report.

Another domestic secret service, the civilian espionage, does not have access to any information similar to that of the BIS. "I have no information about the possibility that Russia would attempt to influence the elections. If we obtained such information, we would have to find tools to deal with it," Interior Minister Jan Ruml, whose department controls the civilian intelligence service, said.

At the same time, BIS, according to its annual report, has been aware for some time of the intensive interest of Russian secret services in contacts with people who could be used to destabilize the Czech political scene. So far, the Interior Ministry has officially described the activities of the Russian secret services in the country as a rather passive collection of information. The BIS report indicates, however, that Russia will try harder to influence the situation in the Republic.

Czech Republic: Survey: Trust in State Institutions Wanes

AU0802111396 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 6 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by "drb": "Trust in Constitutional Institutions Moderately Declined"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest survey of the Institute for Public Opinion Research (IVVM) in the first days of this year indicates a decline in trust in the government and the parliament. The president held onto the December level of trust.

The decline in trust amounts to 5 percent (to 51 percent) for the government and 4 percent (to 27 percent) for the parliament. President Vaclav Havel, with a rating of 73 percent, remains in the lower part of the annual average. Havel is most trusted by young people under age 19 (81 percent), students (82 percent), and people with a high living standard (83 percnet). He lost some trust among pensioners and Prague citizens, however, in comparison with December (by 6 percent and 8 percent, respectively), and also in Eastern Bohemia and Southern Moravia (by 8 percent and 7 percent, respectively). According to the size of the community, the president improved his rating by 7 percent in midsized towns with populations of up to 20,000, and, on the other hand, lost 9 percent in communities with 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants. The government is trusted most by young people (61 percent), university students (65 percent), and two-thirds of highly qualified workers or households with a high living standard.

The parliament has its patrons among the young people (42 percent), students (43 percent), and specialists or satisfied households (about one-third). Among Civic Democratic Party voters, mistrust dominates trust only in the instance of the parliament (by 3 points), the Czech Social Democratic Party voters trust only the president.

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Slovakia: Kovac: Treaty Ratification Would Be Positive

AU0802075496 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Feb 96 p 6

[TASR report: "President Kovac: Ratification of the Basic Interstate Treaty With Hungary Would Be a Positive Signal for Europe and the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest—Delaying the implementation of a good measure means a setback—in this case, in bilateral relations, said Slovak President Michal Kovac in connection with the postponement of the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty. He made this statement in an extensive interview published in the most recent issue of the Budapest weekly MAGYARORSZAG.

"Confirmation of the interstate treaty would be a positive signal for Europe and the world. That is, the treaty envisages the expansion of cooperation in various spheres and may influence the relationship between the Hungarian minority and the Slovak majority in the Slovak Republic. It would reduce tension, the atmosphere would be calmer, and other issues could also be resolved," said President Kovac. He added that, for example, the language law, the future law on the use of minority languages, and the draft law on the new territorial-administrative division, which is keeping the whole of society on tenterhooks, are accompanied by undesirable phenomena. "So, maybe it will be even harder to reach a compromise that would also be acceptable to the minority," he said.

In reply to a letter from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz that expressed concern in connection with the language law, the Slovak president assured the most senior Hungarian representative of the attention he is paying to monitoring the implementation of the language law in practice, including special emphasis on adherence to the Slovak Constitution or possible discrimination against the minorities' use of their languages. "I have also discussed this matter with the representatives of the Hungarian political parties in the Slovak Republic. They informed me that they have not observed any violation of their rights. Therefore, I told Arpad Goncz that I have received a promise from the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the Slovak prime minister that a law regulating the use of minority languages will be drafted as soon as possible. I will watch this closely, and I will stick to what I said during the signing of the language law—that is, that I will turn to the Slovak Constitutional Court if I discern that the minorities in Slovakia find themselves in an unfavorable situation in connection with the language law. I asked the Hungarian politicians in Slovakia to monitor the situation and to listen to the opinions of the citizens of southern Slovakia with whom they are in daily contact. I am awaiting reports from them," added the Slovak president.

Michal Kovac described the question of organizing further roundtables with the representatives of the minorities living in Slovakia as open. According to him, the answer depends on how the domestic political situation develops following the language law's coming into force or, alternatively, following the ratification of the basic interstate treaty. "I would be unable to give a definite date in advance, but, if the interested parties feel the need for such a meeting, I am ready for it," said the Slovak president.

Slovakia: SNS To Sue Ethnic Hungarian for Sedition

AU0802080696 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 96 p 2

[Report by TASR: "Slovak National Party: Criminal Prosecution of Csemadok Deputy Chairman"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Political Board of the Slovak National Party [SNS], at a meeting in Bratislava yesterday, decided to ask the General Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic to initiate the criminal prosecution of Istvan Bajnok, deputy chairman of Csemadok [ethnic Hungarian cultural organization]. The Political Board reached this conclusion on the basis of a statement made by Istvan Bajnok in an interview for the 14 December 1995 issue of the Budapest journal MAGYAR FORUM, in which he said: "In spite of this, I feel in my bones that they will harass the Hungarian community of the Rye Island [area along the Danube in southern Slovakia] until, one day, the Hungarians will raise their scythes and will drive the partisans from the mountains [reference to Slovaks] back to where they came from." The SNS Political Board considers the contents of the above statement to be seditious. In its opinion, it can be qualified as dissemination of an alarming report. The SNS is also considering initiating charges regarding the generally binding regulations issued by local self-administrations in some communities of southern Slovakia, since "acting in contravention of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, self-administration bodies are declaring Hungarian as the language of communication."

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 3 February on page 8 reprints the entire 1,500-word MAGYAR FORUM interview with Istvan Bajnok, in which the Csemadok official denounces plans to introduce bilingual classes in Hungarian-language schools.

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Bajnok, a former member of parliament for the Coexistence movement and a child psychiatrist by original profession, claims in the interview that bilingual education breeds "serious neurotic symptoms" in children from Hungarian-speaking families, such as bed-wetting and stuttering. The interview is preceded by a 200-word introduction by "jef," which qualifies the interview as "scandalous" and an example of "outrageous chauvinism." "Jef" asks whether "such a doctor should be allowed to treat Slovak children" and voices the view that "Dr. Bajnok should not escape the attention of the Prosecutor's Office and the Chamber of Physicians."]

Slovakia: Meciar Reacts to Protests Against Draft Law

AU0702190396 Bratislava SME in Slovak 3 Feb 96 p 2

[Report by "r": "Prime Minister on the Radio: A Draft Law on Foundations That Could Be Regarded as the Government's Does Not Exist"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"Members of this Board [Gremium] already know what is in that law, but I do not know it," Vladimir Meciar said in his regular Friday [2 February] Slovak Radio interview when responding to the objections of the Third Sector Board to the draft law on foundations. He went on to say that a draft law on foundations that could be regarded as the government's does not exist. According to the prime minister, there only exist views of staffers who are working on such a concept. At the same time, he stressed that "there also exist forgeries of such documents that are being attributed to the government, even though neither the government nor ministries have dealt with such a document." "If we want to pass a law on foundations, it is to prevent commercial activity from hiding under the activity of foundations and to prevent some people from exploiting charitable activity to enrich themselves and those closest to them," Vladimir Meciar said. Commenting on the reactions to the bill thus far, he said that "the reactions directed abroad are, once again, an irresponsible argument of the same circles that have been engaged in such activities all along. These very same circles are afraid that their foreign donors might start inquiring on what they actually spend the money." "The creation of these semblances, the creation of the appearance that Slovakia is undemocratic, is a self-serving game of political groups not only for their political position but also for financial resources, which they need for themselves in order to survive as vestiges of the past," he said.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 6 February on page 2 carries a 200-word interview with Pavol Demes, spokesman for the Third Sector Board, by a "ch"-signed SME correspondent. Asked to react to the prime minister's claim on Slovak Radio that there exists no government bill on foundations, Demes says: "Within the process of interdepartmental appraisal, Justice Minister Jozef Liscak sent to the Third Sector Board a draft law initiated by him and drawn up by Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Finance experts in coordination with the Slovak Government Office. I therefore do not know exactly what the prime minister had in mind." Asked about Meciar's claim that there exist "forgeries" of the bill misrepresenting the government's intentions, Demes replies that "we do not know any other documents" except the bill sent to the Third Sector Board by Justice Minister Liscak.]

Slovakia: Meciar Admits Citizens' Bank Deposits Unsafe

AU0702183096 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Feb 96 p 2

[Report by CTK: "Vladimir Meciar: Protection of Citizens' Deposits Does Not Exist in the Slovak Republic at Present"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Protection of citizens' financial deposits in Slovak banks, even in those in which the state still holds the dominant stake, does not exist at present, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told Slovak Radio yesterday. For the first time, according to his own words, he also publicly admitted that the state of the protection of deposits has been bad for quite some time in Slovak banking, even though this issue has been kept under wraps until now. Some time ago, the state undertook to guarantee citizens' deposits in Vseobecna Uverova Banka [General Credit Bank], Slovenska Sporitelna [Slovak Savings Bank], and Investicna a Rozvojova Banka [Investment and Development Bank]—that is, in banks that emerged from the former [Czechoslovak] State Bank. According to Meciar, if any of these banks collapsed, all savings deposited with them would be forfeited. The prime minister noted that, when the government and the legislature are launching initiatives today to introduce protection of investments and a system of guarantees, they are, in fact, "remedying a situation that has been bad in Slovakia for some time and about which no one has been speaking aloud."

Vladimir Meciar recently declared that the privatization of the entire banking sector would be wound up by the end of February. However, only speculations about this "lightning" privatization have been making the rounds in the Slovak Republic so far.

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Slovakia: Foreign Minister on Compensating Nazi Victims

AU0602174896 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 2 Feb 96 p 6

["Excerpt" of response by Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk to a question by Deputy Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, on compensating Slovak victims of Nazi persecution; place and date not given: "Compensation Remains an Open Issue"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The question of compensating Slovak victims of Nazi persecution is an open issue in Slovak-German relations, which has its history and development. Because of the substance and complexity of this issue, I would like to recapitulate at least the main steps that were taken in dealing with it during the time of the federation (until 31 December 1992). [passage omitted]

Since the very emergence of the Slovak Republic, the Slovak Foreign Ministry has exerted intensive efforts to compensate Slovak victims of Nazi persecution by Germany, and it can be noted that this issue has passed through a certain development on the German side. From arguments referring to a connection between the question of compensation and the complex economic and domestic political situation (federal parliamentary elections) in Germany in 1994, and pointing out the allegedly different historical political background of the persecution of the Slovak victims in the first half of 1995, the German side moved in the second half of 1995 to reasoning for the delay in solving the problem of compensating the Slovak victims by the complexity of German-Czech relations and the necessity of solving them first.

The Intersector Commission

In an attempt to approach the problem systematically, an Intersector Commission (MK) was established in 1994. In addition to the Foreign Ministry representatives, its members include representatives of the organizations of the victims—the Slovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, the Union of War Disabled Citizens, the Union of Jewish Religious Congregations, and the representatives of Slovak ministries.

The question of compensating Slovak victims of Nazism continues to be one of the key topics in talks between the supreme representatives of the Slovak Republic and their German counterparts. The first foreign talks of this government were conducted in my meeting with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel on 17 February 1995 in Bonn, during which I kept reminding the German party of the pressing nature of this problem for the Slovak victims and emphasizing the unacceptability of compensating the Czech victims without an equal satisfaction for the victimized Slovak citizens.

The Complexity of Relations

Similarly, the Slovak mission in Bonn has conducted systematic contact activities aimed particularly at obtaining the support of the parliamentary parties and a permanent dialogue with the German Foreign Ministry and the Office of the Federal Chancellor. The proposal of the faction Alliance 90/The Greens in the German Bundestag to include in the 1996 German budget the sum designated for compensating the Slovak and the Czech victims of Nazi persecution, which you refer to in your question, can be considered one of the specific efforts of the Bonn mission and the Slovak Foreign Ministry, although it was not adopted by the surviving in the end.

The Slovak Foreign Ministry responded with a verbal note delivered to the German Embassy in Bratislava last July to the reasoning for the delay in solving the compensation for the Slovak victims by pointing out the complexity of the German-Czech relations and the necessity of their priority solution. This note emphasized the equality in the pressing nature of the compensation for the Slovak victims and the Czech victims on Nazism. On 24 August 1995, Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Slovak Foreign Ministry, handed over to P. Hartmann, state secretary at the German Foreign Ministry, a verbal note, in which the Slovak Foreign Ministry proposed to the German Foreign Ministry to immediately start talks on the issues of compensation for the Slovak victims of Nazism. To date, the German side has not responded to either note.

An important step in solving the problem of compensating the Slovak victims of Nazism is the decision on the form of compensation—an advance payment from the funds in the Slovak budget and subsequent talks with the German Government or talks with the German Government on the form of compensation. The fundamental goal of the Slovak Republic in the talks with Germany is to achieve individual compensation for the Slovak citizens by the German side. It is necessary to ask for compensation for the surviving victims or a member of the family if the victim died—be it as a direct result of the persecution or from its consequences. This objective has been achieved by 15 states, whose citizens have been individually compensated.

Adding Pressure

Representatives of the organizations of the victimized Slovak citizens demand individual compensation for the victims or, as the case may be, their descendants but do not rule out any other form of compensation

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as, for instance, aid to senior homes or equipment for organizations of the persecuted victims.

Solving the issue of compensating the Slovak victims of Nazi persecution is one of Slovakia's foreign policy priorities regarding Germany in 1996. The Slovak Foreign Ministry and the Bonn mission will exert maximum efforts in 1996 to achieve its goal, which, however, considering the political reality, will first focus on a consistent increase in political pressure on the German side.

Slovakia: Daily Compares Demarches, 1968 Letters

AU0702144296 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 2 Feb 96 p 3

[Commentary by Juraj Fuchs: "The 'Lesson' and the Demarches"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An energetic campaign propagating the "Lessons From Crisis Development..." was under way 25 years ago in the mass media and in every enterprise. It was the work of the UV KSC [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee]—that is, of the former Weissites. *Poucenie* [Czech for "lesson"] had to be written instead of *Ponaucenie* [Slovak for "lesson"]. That is, L. Pezlar [communist ideologist] did not heed the linguists; he was obsessed with the "unification" of the Czech and Slovak languages. He did not want a Czech-Slovak dictionary to be issued.

The "Lesson" was the normalizers' main ideological document. A curse was placed on the individuals criticized in it. Intellectuals were the most damned. They were not allowed to publish. The communists were always afraid of freedom of speech. They offered the intellectuals despair and manual labor. They believed that they could humble and defeat them by force. The Husakites and Bilakites considered the ideological front to be the most important, and the most orthodox stood guard over it. They also banned the former Stalinists, whom 21 August 1968 had transformed from Sauls into Pauls, from publishing. They were converted during the course of a single night; this was after a night lasting 20 years. For some of them, the transformation was out of resentment that the normalizers had refused to further share power with them.

First and foremost, young people unburdened by the crimes of totalitarianism should learn from history. Many "leftists" and "lefties" sympathizing with communism realized after 21 August 1968 that they had contributed to the developments leading to the occupation and the loss of civic and national freedom. Late, but, nevertheless, they realized it in the end. If their conversion from Saul into Paul was sincere, they will pass on their historical experience to young people and children so that they understand our current history, already written by means of demarches, and the threat to rob us of our established economic sovereignty.

Before the occupation, Gomulka and Brezhnev wrote demarches to us about creeping counterrevolution and the "anxiety and alarm" regarding developments in our country. Touching unselfish concern about our fate then and now! The powers have always cared about us unselfishly. Their demarches were only lacking such trifles as the truth, evidence, and facts. Their coauthors were people pathologically desirous of power. The present-day coauthors are also hankering after money from the sell-off abroad of national property.

The government and not the president should govern in a parliamentary democracy. M. Kovac, along with the opposition, wants to reverse development and change the election results by nonparliamentary means, as he did in March 1994. The authors of the demarches applaud M. Kovac and his allies yearning to privatize strategic industry. Another concept of democracy a la Michal Kovac means constructing "profit pipelines" through which profits from Slovakia will flow abroad. Understandably, also into the accounts of the domestic coauthors of the demarches.

Just last month we took comfort from the fact that the coauthors had not attached a "letter of invitation" to the demarche. Today, the young generation, first and foremost, should view its future more realistically and see what kind of prospects would await it if Slovakia were to find itself in the hands of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. After all, Jan Carnogursky said out loud before Christmas that, for Slovakia to get rid of Meciar, five years of turmoil would be best thing. A couple of days later, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL (completely by coincidence) wrote that, after Bosnia, the Balkans will be in Slovakia. And another coincidence: The same WALL STREET JOURNAL recently cited a report on a visit by its editor to Ivan Carnogursky, the brother of the KDH chairman.

What are these "decent tolerant" people and "Christians" planning for Slovakia?

Slovakia: New Liberal Party, OLS, Founded

AU0702182996 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by TASR: "New Political Entity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Yesterday the preparatory committee of an initiative group of former members of the Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic (AD SR) and the Democratic Union of Slovakia (DU) reported to the Ministry of Interior of

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the Slovak Republic the founding of a new political entity called the Civic Liberal Party of Slovakia [Obciansko-Liberalna Strana Slovenska] (OLS). This was announced by Jozef Hlavac and Jan Zbojek, members of the preparatory committee. The OLS's policy goals are based on the ideals of individual freedom and the law-governed state. The party subscribes to the traditions of humanism, liberalism, and Christianity.

Slovakia: New Supreme Court Chairman Karabin Profiled

AU0702211096 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Feb 96 p 2

[Report by "lj": "Milan Karabin, LL.D., Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Maintaining and strengthening the independence of the Slovak judiciary is regarded by Milan Karabin, LL.D. (46), the new chairman of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic, to be his most important mission.

"I greatly respect Professor Karol Plank, my predecessor, because, if it is possible to call courts in the Slovak Republic independent, he deserves great credit for it. I want to continue along that path," Milan Karabin said on 1 February, immediately after his election in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. He expects judges to apply laws to all citizens equally, without exception. "The judiciary must steer clear of various political entanglements to maintain its present apolitical nature."

All spheres of law have undergone principal changes since 1989, and this trend will not come to a halt because of the continuing transformation of society. According to Milan Karabin, "the new legal institutes [instituty] quite understandably elicit different understanding at all levels of courts. The Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic must respond promptly to this and unify the interpretation and application of law in the Slovak Republic. This is its basic task laid down by law."

Milan Karabin, a graduate of the Law School at Charles University in Prague, started his career as a judge in 1974 when he was elected as a judge with the Poprad District Court. He has been with the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic since 1982, and, throughout an entire term of office, he specialized in criminal law. Since 1989, he has been chairman of the Penal Board of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic Tribunal of Judges. The Supreme Court of the Slovak Republic Tribunals of Judges decide on appeals against decisions of regional courts as the courts of first instance and on extraordinary legal remedies in criminal proceedings following complaints of breaches of the law.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 6 February, in the "Monitor" column on page 5, carries a 300-word reprint of an interview with Milan Karabin that originally appeared in the 5 February issue of Bratislava PRACA in Slovak. The interview includes the following passage:

"[PRACA] You have been working in the judiciary for 23 years and have been with the Supreme Court since 1982. This means that you were issuing decisions under the previous regime. Most judges were organized in the Communist Party at that time. Were you also a party member?

"[Karabin] Yes, I was in the Communist Party. I want to stress, however, that a judge who decides only according to the law is always able to retain his independence.

"[PRACA] Which political party nominated you for the post of chairman of the Supreme Court?

"[Karabin] I was proposed by the government, and it was a matter of coalition agreements. I was approached as a candidate by the minister of justice and selected by the government."]

Slovakia: Law Amendment Makes Calling Strikes Harder

AU0602181096 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Feb 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Lubos Jurina: "The National Council of the Slovak Republic Yesterday Approved the Law on Wages"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—The 13th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] continued in Bratislava yesterday with a debate on the document "Industrial Policy of the Slovak Government," which the Slovak Government approved on 26 September of last year. [passage omitted]

L. Cernak, V. Vaskovic, and R. Filkus (all Democratic Union [DU]), criticized the declarative nature of the document, which, in their opinion, is lacking in specific activities and instruments for the attainment of the set targets. "It is impossible to implement an effective industrial policy on the basis of this document," Vaskovic said. L. Lysak (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]), on the other hand, called the document inspirational, even though he, too, formulated a number of objections to it. These concerned, in particular, the insufficiently elaborated question of Slovak industry's ability to compete. [passage omitted]

The NRSR took note of the document. [passage omitted]

The NRSR approved the draft of a law that changes and amends Law No. 1/1992 on Wages. The amendment

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introduces a number of partial changes. After its coming into force, payments from the social fund and from disposable profits will not be considered part of an employee's wages.

The approved amendment to Law No. 2/1992 on Collective Bargaining makes more stringent the conditions for calling a strike.

When solving a labor dispute, participants in collective bargaining are obliged to use the services of a mediator and to prepare a written record. This should contribute to a reliable assessment of the conditions under which the trade unions called a strike. If the social partners do not come to an agreement even before a mediator [sprostredkovatel], the state can order, before work stoppage, another round of talks before a referee [rozhodca].

A lively discussion was triggered by the approved amendment to Law No. 120/1990 on the Plurality of Trade Unions. According to Olga Keltosova, minister of labor, social affairs, and the family, the aim of the amendment is to prevent the blockage of collective bargaining in cases when several trade union organizations operate in a company and fail to agree on a common course of action. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, the NRSR approved the draft law on mandatory copies of periodical and nonperiodical publications, which makes possible their publication in the languages of minorities (this provision supplements the law on the state language) and eliminates the present tax discrimination of publishers of publications with small print runs. The NRSR meeting continues today.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 2 February on pages 1 and 2 carries a 400-word correspondents' report on the 1 February NRSR session. Referring to the amendment to the Law on the Plurality of Trade Unions, the report specifies that "in companies with more than one trade union organization, the collective agreement will be concluded, in case of their disagreement, by the organization with the largest number of members." As the PRAVDA report notes, opposition deputies "were pointing out that the amendment liquidates the plurality of trade unions."]

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Hungary: Russian Arms Deliveries To Start 2d Quarter

AU0802075296 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Feb 96 pp 1, 4

[Article by Zoltan Gaal: "There Is Hope for Russian Weapons Deliveries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry's leadership is somewhat anxious about the fact that, in spite of repeated promises, no concrete steps have yet been taken in connection with the Russian weapons deliveries offered in exchange for some of the former state debt. In light of the preparations, deliveries which were promised for last November can at best be started only at the beginning of the second quarter. The delay has not caused any problems for the Hungarian army, MAGYAR HIRLAP learned from military sources.

According to the bilateral agreement made last year, the first consignment of a total of $320 million worth of weapons and military technical equipment should have arrived in Hungary in November 1995. However, now it is very likely that the deliveries can only be started at the beginning of the second quarter.

The last exchange of messages reveals that the Russian ministries concerned have already agreed on the method of internal financing, so only a government decision is now needed for the production of the military equipment included in the agreement. The delay did not cause any interruption in the Hungarian army although it would have been better for the replacement of weapons to coincide with the reorganization of some units.

According to our information, the range of equipment offered by the Russian side was expanded in the last round of talks. The Russian side undertook to deliver further BTR-80 armored vehicles in addition to the 160 already agreed. According to the final version, more than 450 BTR's will arrive in Hungary for the army in 1996. The Border Guard will be able to use another 68 armored vehicles.

Russian manufacturers will send spare engines, main parts, and supplementary fittings for MiG-29 military aircraft to the value of $50 million. According to the agreement, the army will also receive 400 METISZ antitank missiles and 15 launching pads. With this, the Defense Ministry has completely exhausted its $240 million limit. The Border Guard will receive the aforementioned armored vehicles for $80 million. In addition to this, the Border Guard also requested 80 METISZ antitank missiles, several hundred Lada Niva all-terrain vehicles, 1,200 passive infrared binoculars, and 8,500 bulletproof vests.

According to the Russian side's indication, the government decision can be expected before the end of this month. After this, experts of the two countries will work out a concrete delivery schedule, and deliveries can then be started about a month after this.

Hungary: Experts View Need for Modern Combat Aircraft

AU0702210996 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Feb 96 pp 1, 3

[Correspondent's report: "The Gripen Aircraft Would Not Change the Military Balance of Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gyula Horn is negotiating in Sweden on the offer of the Wallenberg-group according to which they would sell Gripen combat aircraft to Hungary under favorable conditions. Experts question whether we need the new aircraft. In any case, the purchase would not essentially modify the balance of air power with our neighbors. NATO has not tested the Gripen aircraft yet, although they can be used in NATO. It is possible that the Swedes would charge a civilian firm with maintenance work. However, the question is Moscow's reaction to excluding the crisis-ridden Russian military industry from the tenders preceding the purchase.

The main problem with the combat aircraft business is that it is difficult to evaluate whether we really need the new aircraft or not. According to the basic principles of the Hungarian security policy, Hungary does not have an enemy image, so we do not know against whom these aircraft would defend our airspace—Imre Fulop, head researcher at the Strategic and Defense Research Institute of the Hungarian Defense Ministry, told us. According to Fulop, it is understandable that the army would like to get new technology, and the type of weapons we have makes a difference from the viewpoint of our NATO approach. However, the purchase of combat aircraft is not a military issue; it is rather a factor that depends on our economic possibilities.

According to retired Air Force Major General Istvan Smidth, we should purchase the combat aircraft that we are capable of purchasing, and the Swedish Gripen seems to be the best offer, because the Swedes have promised production cooperation and credits and promised to spend the bulk of the purchasing price in Hungary.

The Swedish offer is so favorable because the Swedish aircraft manufacturers do not have a clear market; so far, they have supplied combat aircraft mainly to Austria. "The Swedes will do everything in their power to sell their aircraft, even if we vacillate. This is a very

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important deal for them," Fulop told us. The Americans are not offering their F-16's so enthusiastically because the 30-plane deal is not big enough business for Lockheed to engage in serious lobbying.

It is difficult to say how much the new aircraft would really cost us. The price of a modern combat aircraft—the F-16, Mirage 2000, or Gripen-39—is between $30-35 million. However, the price is not fixed, and it can occasionally drop to $20 million if politics so desires. The armament costs another $5 million per aircraft. The infrastructure needed for the operation of these combat aircraft could cost as much as half of the price of the aircraft themselves, so this could add another $0.5 billion. According to Fulop, the possibility that the Swedes might also participate in developing the aforementioned structure and would carry out the servicing tasks in the form of a mixed enterprise cannot be excluded either. Although it is not yet widespread in Hungary to have a civilian firm carry out the maintenance of combat aircraft, there are such examples in the West.

Experts think that the purchase of new aircraft would not change the balance of forces with the neighboring countries—the Hungarian Air Force is the third or fourth strongest airforce in the area—partly because this would only mean technical rejuvenation, and not putting another 30 combat aircraft into operation. On the other hand, the neighboring countries are also preparing for similar purchases. Romania is holding talks with the French Mirage on assembling such aircraft in Romania. Slovakia and Poland are also striving to rejuvenate their stock of combat aircraft. Warsaw Pact members received their aircraft from the Soviet Union at the same time, and they put these aircraft into operation at the same time; therefore, they have to replace them at the same time too, said Peter Deak, head of the Security Policy Research Institute. Just like in the armies of the other countries, a change of the Hungarian combat aircraft is justified by the fact that the flying time of the 86 MiG-21's will end by the turn of the century, and the same is true of the 12 SU-22's and 10 MiG-23's. Only the 28 MiG-29's we received two years ago can be called modern combat aircraft.

Although the Swedish SAAB Gripen aircraft have not yet flown in the framework of NATO, experts say that they are suitable for NATO service. Their armament, target and direction systems, and combat electronics originate from NATO countries and they can also be found on other aircraft.

The purchase of new combat aircraft will probably be carried out with parliament authorization and through invited bids. Earlier, Defense Ministry officials declared that they would not invite MiG-29 suppliers to take part in this tender. According to Istvan Smidth, this is so because, although the MiGs are good aircraft, they use too much fuel and require an overall repair every 200 flying hours. (Gripen needs such repair only every 800 to 1,200 flying hours. The MiG-29's are no more expensive than the Western aircraft, but their instruments are not suitable for NATO deployment, and replacing the instruments could cost $5 million per aircraft. According to Fulop, Hungary is distancing itself from the Russian supplier also because we want to express our Western commitment. We do not know how Moscow will react to all this, because selling arms to East Europe would be vital for the crisis-ridden Russian military industry.

Hungary: Minister on Criticism of National Security Bill

AU0702210396 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 7 Feb 96 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Nikolits, minister without portfolio in charge of the secret services, by Attila Csaszar in the National Assembly on 6 February: "A Smooth Secret Service"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the debate in parliament, we asked Istvan Nikolits's opinion about the critical observations formulated by the leading speaker of the junior coalition party in connection with the national security bill and about the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] did not participate in the applause after Ferenc Koszeg's speech, a speech that the opposition also evaluated as a positive one.

[Nikolits] The observations made by Ferenc Kozseg have been a subject of debate between us for a long time. I understand all those who formulate such a thorough and radical step. Most certainly, I would do the same if I felt myself among those affected. At the same time, my task is to guarantee a smooth and most efficient operation of the secret services. This country needs this very much. Several new challenges have emerged in recent years, challenges that we did not have to take into consideration previously. Drug trafficking, organized illegal trade and smuggling of arms, and trade in people have increased. Nor has the terror threat against us and the activity of foreign intelligence against Hungary diminished. In my opinion, there is a need for our services, because they represent Hungary's immune system. We cannot allow anything or anyone to hinder our activity. Whether you like it or not, we are not in a situation like the Germans at the time, who could proudly say that they stopped the activity of the Stasi and, from then on, the Gauch Institute

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would be in charge of dealing with and publishing the secret material connected with the people under surveillance. Those who keep bringing up this example forget—perhaps intentionally—that, after Germany's unification, the West German secret services took over the overall intelligence activity that covers the entire country. In Hungary, the III/III Department ceased to exist without any legal heir, and I absolutely agree that these documents and their content must be made public. This must be carried out on the basis of the stipulations formulated in the bill.

[Csaszar] But what will happen to the military intelligence, for example, and the other areas where there can be "dormant" secret data on people who were under surveillance?

[Nikolits] Such activities belonged to the III\III Directorate. In the case of the others, like intelligence and counterintelligence, their basic task was different. However, it is possible that there were cases in which the agents either helped out or received similar missions. However, these organizations continue to exist and carry out their activity today. Therefore, it is unacceptable for these organizations to be mentioned in the bill as the affairs of the III\III Directorate. I agree that every document that no longer represents the background of a current affair or the basis of current operational methods can be handed over to the Historical Office. However, this can only be done after a preliminary evaluation. It is an illusion that someone or some people will get into the secret service archives and start selecting papers there. I do not see such a possibility even in the form of an independent body. If this happens nevertheless, we must decide whether Hungary needs a secret service or not. I accept human curiosity, as well as curiosity based on grievances, but there is a limit where this seems to me to be impossible to carry out.

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B-H: Bildt on Difficulties of Bosnian Peace Process

MS0802102196 London THE EUROPEAN in English 8-14 Feb 96 p 13

[Article by Carl Bildt, International Community Bosnia negotiator: "'I Can't Bomb the People of Bosnia Into Friendship'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Six weeks into my job as high representative, appointed by the Dayton peace accord, I can be under no illusion about the difficulties we face in consolidating the peace in Bosnia. As I write Bosnian Serb soldiers are being held by the Federation government as alleged war criminals, and the Republika Srpska (the Bosnian Serb republic) has announced that it will not take part in any further meetings on Bosnian Federation soil. Reconciliation is a difficult word to use this week.

Nevertheless, I am personally convinced that Bosnia can make the transition from being a bitterly divided country to a peaceful and even prosperous society not far from the heart of Europe. Its people have the skills, the talent and the quality to achieve this. But just because it can be achieved and should be achieved, does not mean that the transition will inevitably be successful.

There are enormous challenges ahead, from the huge damage to the country's physical infrastructure to the deep well of bitterness between Bosnia's peoples, which is the residue of four years of war.

The task can only be achieved if, on the one hand, the international community makes its contribution to economic reconstruction and political rehabilitation; and, on the other, and even more important, if the people of Bosnia can work together to recreate a country at peace with itself. As high representative, I am closely involved in both these areas.

The civilian aspects of the peace process are more difficult to define than the military ones. The agreement reached at Dayton in November last year was highly specific about the details of military engagement and the ending of the war. It was less clear on the ways to create peace. Military implementation has been broadly successful so far, and I salute the many Americans and even more European troops, not to mention those from further afield, who have achieved so much.

Although the implementation force (I-FOR) has still not reached full strength, I am confident that the main military goals of the Dayton agreement will be achieved over the next six weeks. My side of the agenda will take longer.

The work of the high representative has four main aspects:

— To monitor implementation of the agreement.

— To co-ordinate international efforts to help Bosnia through the transition, from economic assistance to human rights and refugee questions.

— To prepare the way for free and fair elections in which the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) will play an important role.

— To assist the parties themselves in achieving cooperation and reconciliation.

These words are all more abstract and less precise than the words used to ensure military compliance. They are not the stuff of deadlines or headlines. Admiral Leighton Smith can always call for air strikes if the armies he faces do not behave. For my part, I cannot bomb the parties into friendship with one another. Nor can I threaten the international community if it does not give the finance necessary to relaunch the Bosnian economy.

Nevertheless, I have found in this short period that there has been much that I and my still rather small team has been able to do.

In my view, the highest priority is to bring the peoples of Bosnia, Serbs, Croats and Muslims, into dialogue with one another. Even under their present political leaders, who have been abusing each other for the past four years, they must rediscover a common language. Bosnia is perhaps the most deeply divided society in the world. But it once had a rich history dominated by tolerance rather than ethnic extremism. Under the Dayton agreement, which all of its political leaders have accepted, it is obliged to forge a common future. And all that I see on the streets of Sarajevo or Banja Luka, Mostar or Gorazde, convinces me that this is what its people want.

We have set in train a process of dialogue which, in its early stages, brought results perhaps more quickly than we expected. Under the terms of Dayton, I set up a body called the Joint Civilian Commission, which brought the leaders of the Muslim-Croat Federation into discussion with the leaders of the Republika Srbska early in January.

We focused on Sarajevo where we saw the most immediate problems, and established a number of sub committees to deal with questions such as housing and infrastructure, telecommunications and the police. It was encouraging to see the parties working from the ground up on sensible measures which would improve the quality of life in Sarajevo and, in the fullness of time, would help to re- unify the city. It was even more striking to see old friends, who had sometimes shared

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offices before the war embracing after four years of mistrust and even hatred.

Nevertheless, I have no interest in overstating our progress towards reconciliation, particularly in a stormy week like this one.

There are three other areas in which my office has been especially active. We are working closely with the World Bank and the European Union to encourage a speedy injection of development aid. The high representative has no budget of his own. I do not lead an executive agency in this or any other field. But I have to spearhead the international efforts to raise the necessary funding, and I do give my views where this can be useful. There was a successful conference in Brussels in December when some $500 million was pledged for determine whether they urgent projects. The World Bank estimate that ten times that will be necessary over the next four years to repair infrastructure and lay the basis for sustained economic growth.

I do have concerns here. We need still greater urgency than I see from donor nations if we are to jump-start a ruined economy with successful projects in crucial sectors like power, roads and telecommunications. I also believe more attention must be paid to identifying good projects in the Republika. There must be seen to be a peace dividend for everyone.

A second area to which I give great importance is human rights. I am as concerned as anyone about war crimes. We must be unflinching in our determination to bring proven war criminals to justice. At the same time, this does not mean that possible suspects should be interned without due process of law, either domestic or international.

Apart from that there is a delicate job of co-ordination on human rights questions between the wide variety of international organisations which have been active throughout the war.

The third area I would mention of the many more with which I am concerned does carry a deadline. Under Dayton, there must be free and fair elections at the latest within nine months of the start of the process. This is a long march in a short time. But it is only when Bosnians have exercised their democratic rights and worked together to create the joint institutions envisaged under Dayton that we shall know the drive to peace is irreversible.

The OSCE and the international community can provide a framework. But the Bosnians themselves will determine whether they move forward to a new sort of politics, or retreat back to their psychological bunkers.

B-H: Shots Fired; Croats Shout 'Kill Him' at Koschnick

AU0702150596 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Report by Veronika Radovcic]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 7 (AFP) — Angry Croats attacked the car of the European Union administrator in Mostar Wednesday [7 February] and ransacked his offices after he attempted to enforce new administrative boundaries to calm tension between Croats and Moslems in the southern Bosnian city.

Shots were heard as dozens of protestors surrounded the car in which Hans Koschnick was leaving a press conference, shouting: "Hang him! Kill him!"

Demonstrators jumped on the car then forced their way into the hotel where the EU headquarters are based. [passage omitted]

An EU spokesman in Mostar said gunfire could be heard, and that Croat police officers stood by by without intervening. There were no immediate reports of injuries.

The spokesman, Dragan Gasic, told AFP: "They jumped on his car and shouted 'Hang him! Kill him!' There were gunshots."

An AFP correspondent witnessed several hundred Croat demonstrators immediately assemble at the the Ero Hotel, the EU headquarters. [passage omitted]

B-H: Sarajevo Radio Says Mostar Events Not 'Accident'

AU0702155996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Report by Mirsad Behran and Faruk Kajter from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] A the very beginning of his news conference this morning, the EU administrator said that, in the future, Mostar will be organized into six town municipalities based on the relative majority of one of the ethnic communities. According to Koschnick, this is in line with the gentlemen's agreement of the two mayors and the Dayton peace agreement.

Explaining the introduction of the central town district, Koschnick said that such a central district is necessary for the development of Mostar as the second town in the Federation, stressing that this facilitates the setting up of municipalities with the relative Bosniak or Croat majorities. In addition, the more important facilities

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for the functioning of the town, such as the three hydroelectric plants on the Neretva River and the town's hospital, drinking water well, and airport, are according to Koschnick's solution also part of the central district.

After he had presented the basis of his arbitration, Koschnick said that his solution was backed by the State Department and the EU, expressing the hope that both sides would accept it. Administrator Koschnick told journalists that he had informed the top leaderships of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federation about his arbitration. Ending his news conference, Koschnick said he would like to see Mostar as a place of religious tolerance again, which is an inalienable principle of universal human rights.

However, the administrator's hopes very quickly turned out to be only nice wishes, as Mijo Brajkovic, mayor of the western part of the town, issued a statement for the public almost immediately. As the local Croat media report, Brajkovic takes the view that, by introducing the central town district, Koschnick has created yet another municipality with a majority Bosniak population. As announced, this was the reason for Brajkovic deciding to break all relations with the EU administration in Mostar.

However, it is quite clear from Koschnick's arbitration that, according to the 1991 census, the people from the category of others make up the greatest percentage of the population in the central town district, about 40 percent. The Bosniaks are represented with about 35 percent, and the Croats with 25 percent.

The statement issued by the mayor of western Mostar was coordinated with the allegedly spontaneous gathering of a fairly large number of residents, who surrounded the building of the EU administration. According to the information available thus far, the crowd insulted the members of the EU administration, stoned the EU vehicles, and tore up EU flags. There were also some physical skirmishes and small arms fire near Koschnick's headquarters.

As the crowd broke into the EU administration building, as we have learned, Koschnick's team was evacuated from the building. According to the still-unconfirmed information, members of IFOR [Implementation Force] are currently inside the building.

That the events here are not an accident is confirmed by the subsequent rallies in other parts of the town, where crowds with a large number of extremists protested tumultuously, hurling stones toward the eastern part of the town. According to witnesses, the residents who were crossing from one part to the other at that time were maltreated.

The situation in Mostar is currently very tense and it is very difficult to predict what will happen later. We hope that reason will prevail over passion and narrow ethnic interests.

B-H: Mostar Mayor Says EU Mission Now 'Over'

LD0702180696 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar Mayor Mijo Brajkovic held a news conference today in order to explain once again the reaction of the [Bosnian] Croat side to the decision by Hans Koschnick [on undivided Mostar]. Zoran Kresic reports:

[Kresic] All members of the delegation who worked on the transitional status of Mostar, elections, and municipal borders, were present at the news conference. A statement from the mayor's office was read out at the beginning of the conference. The statement made it clear that, as far as the Croat side is concerned, the European Union mission in Mostar is over.

Mayor Brajkovic then gave his view of the background to clashes and disagreements in Mostar. He said that Dayton protects national interests to a certain degree. The agreement on the division of Bosnia leaves the Croats without a single town and consequently without a national and any other center, for which they fought with their own blood. History was not taken into account in this respect, said Brajkovic, adding that everything happening today only represents respect for the will of the people.

A member of the negotiating team, [name indistinct] dwelt on the legal basis of Koschnick's decision, saying it is a direct violation of the Dayton agreement, which has the power to overrule both the constitution and law, and that failure to hold elections in the district violates amendment no. 6 of the provision on human rights.

Srecko (?Vucina), a member of the negotiating team for Mostar and vice chairman of the Croatian Democratic Union for Bosnia- Herzegovina, said that the Croat side will persevere to the end despite all external influences, and that prejudging of the decision will not be accepted [as heard]. If pressure continues in light of this situation, he said, the Croats will consider leaving the parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina and raising the issue of the constitutionality of Koschnick's decision.

B-H: Mostar 'Relatively Peaceful'; Curfew 7 Feb

LD0702192496 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The guest of our news bulletin is Mostar Municipal Council Chairman Mijo Brajkovic.

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What is the situation in Mostar like at present, Mr. Brajkovic?

[Brajkovic] The situation in Mostar is quite good at present. Earlier today it was rather tough — there was much unrest, people were upset and agitated, which we had expected in a way, because we had been warning about possible popular reactions for a long time. The situation is now under control. This evening we introduced a curfew — there is to be no gathering after 2200. Mostar is peaceful.

[Announcer] What do you think is a way out of all this?

[Brajkovic] Before I reply to this question, I would like to draw your attention to something that your viewers may not know.

Some 10 days ago we had a meeting in Mostar, which was similar to the one held yesterday, at which we accepted the European Union [EU] maps and a proposal put forward by the EU. The Croat side had in fact embraced it. However, Mr. Silajdzic also attended the meeting. I do not know in what capacity he was there, as he had already resigned. I think that huge pressure was used. He demanded Mr. Koschnick's resignation in front of 30 people. I think that a huge amount of pressure was used all the time — therefore, I knew it would have an unfavorable result for the Croat side. I am telling you about this because I do not think that our viewers are aware of it.

What is the situation like now? I have told you that Mostar is relatively peaceful this evening, the situation is, I think, quite good.

What do we want now? Now we expect Koschnick to change his decision. We are not going to accept this thing. The municipal council presided over by me has suspended talks with Mr. Koschnick until he changes his decision. If he fails to do so, we will most definitely not continue the talks. I think that this is the only solution as he has trampled on three institutions in this instance. We will complain to the federal constitutional court, and we will see what its decision is going to be.

[Announcer] Mr. Brajkovic, thank you very much.

B-H: Croat Mostar Mayor Addresses Crowd in Square

LD0702193296 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The people of Mostar have reacted to [EU administrator Hans] Koschnick's decision on demarcation. They organized peaceful demonstrations outside the Ero Hotel, the headquarters of the European administration, and on Hrvatski Velikani [Croatian Heroes] Square. Ivan Pavkovic reports.

[Pavkovic] [passage omitted] The citizens marched to Hrvatski Velikani Square where, shortly before 1500, they were addressed by Mr. Mijo Brajkovic, the mayor of western Mostar.

[Begin Brajkovic recording] Honored friends, since you have asked for me to address you, I would like you to listen to me. You have seen everything that has happened. We have our stand, which is not my stand, but your stand. They are trying to say that the [western Mostar] municipal leadership has one policy and you another, and that you could hardly wait for all this [population] to be mixed again, for you to kiss each other, but that we would not let you. I think that today you have shown what it is that you want. It is up to us to follow the policy that you insist on. [cheers]

Please allow me just one thing — as a man with high morals, with a family, children, I cannot and will not betray your wishes. No pressure, no advice will make me do something you would not want me to. [cheers]

I am telling you this today from the bottom of my heart and my soul, because this is what I think. Finally, on Monday, in front of the Ero [hotel], on this side [of Mostar], a foundation stone will be laid for a new cathedral. [cheers] You will be duly informed about it and you will need no special invitation to attend. You will all be informed via radio and TV. We expect you to attend. We will lay the foundation stone, with the bishop, so that it can be seen how far the Croat people extend. [cheers]

Ten days ago we laid the foundation stone for a Croat national theater, and its location has become an irritation to some. I am sorry they are irritated by it. I would not be irritated if 10 mosques were to be built, but I want to have my theater, my Croat national theater.

And one more thing. You are civilized people, you have shown to be so throughout history. Do not let anyone provoke you, do not allow yourselves to be used as servants, do not make any mistakes, live normally, disperse and go after your business. But we expect your support when call upon you. Thank you very much. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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B-H: Mostar's Croat Mayor on Severed EU Relations

AU0702195496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 96

[News conference by Western Mostar Mayor Mijo Brajkovic in Mostar on 7 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] By violating the Dayton agreement in a flagrant way, EU Administrator Hans Koschnick has created a seventh municipality in Mostar — that is, the fourth Muslim municipality in which the Muslim population constitutes a majority.

Giving in to the pressure exerted by some parts of the world, which, guided by their own interests, want to settle the situation in Mostar in an unnatural and defective way, against the will of an entire nation, Administrator Koschnick has succumbed to the pressure of the Muslim side, which is dissatisfied with the Dayton agreements.

Rejecting and pushing aside the real and well-founded proposals of the Croat side, Mr. Koschnick and the EU have taken the side of one party by creating some kind of a central district.

The Mostar Municipal Council takes the view that this act renders the mission of the EU administration in Mostar definitely finished. With his decision, Administrator Koschnick has divided the town into two parts.

The Mostar Municipal Council, supported by the political authorities, the associations of participants in the homeland war, and the entire population of Mostar, announces that all relations with the EU in Mostar have been severed.

B-H: Ganic Sees Mostar Decision as 'Step Forward'

AU0702195996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Statement by Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, on 8 February; place not given — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Zubak and I have agreed that arbitration be carried out, and have promised Mr. Koschnick that we would accept and support the decision of the arbitration. Croatia's leadership, headed by President Tudjman and Minister Susak, have promised the EU, they have made a public statement, they have promised the United States that they would support the arbitration for Mostar and demanded that Koschnick do it as soon as possible.

The results of the arbitration are here, such as they are. We respect and will implement what Mr. Koschnick has proposed. Of course, there are dissatisfied people on both sides. The EU has assumed the care of Mostar, and this is the end result. We will try to mobilize all those who are dissatisfied and persuade them to respect the decision of the arbitration.

This is good for the Federation, this is good for everyone. The leadership of the town of Mostar, from both sides of Mostar, has spent much time working on it. Regarding the Bosniak side, which has been led by Mr. Orucevic, it has been working intensively and cooperating with Mr. Koschnick. I think that this decision is a step forward.

B-H: Federation's Zubak on 'Mistakes' in Mostar Decision

LD0702211596 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, made the following statement for Bosnian TV in connection with Koschnick's decision on the administration of Mostar.

[Begin Zubak recording] You see, as far as the administration of Mostar is concerned, I have already made my stand clear as to the administration of Mostar, in the light of the proposal which Mr. Koschnick made public. It consists of this: He is bound by the constitution of the federation, the Brussels memorandum on Mostar, and the Dayton agreement, which was verified by the constituent assembly at its ninth session in mid-December. In my opinion — given that representatives of both sides could not reach agreement — he had to base his decision on these documents.

By setting up a new zone, which is not part of the six municipalities, he made a mistake in the legal sense. Likewise, he made a political mistake much earlier, about a fortnight ago, when he made his proposal public — which was carried by all information media. The proposal was accepted by the Croat side in principle, but the Bosniak Muslim side reacted strongly to it.

After this proposal, he came up with a new one which caused these reactions from the Croat and Bosniak-Muslim sides. It looks as if he had corrected his first proposal because he was yielding to pressure. I do not know what the solution consists of, I have not seen it. I could not comment on it.

With regard to the demonstrations themselves, I do not approve of demonstrations as a method, because I believe that even the decision that Koschnick has adopted can be changed in a different way. I do not approve of them in particular if serious offenses were committed, people hurt and material damage caused.

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I believe, however, that this situation came about as a reaction to Koschnick's decision, and that the situation down there will calm down, but I also expect this decision — if it is not approved by both parties, if one of the parties refuses to accept it — that it will be corrected and that a solution acceptable to both sides will be found. [end recording]

B-H: Continuing Tension, 'Thirst for Lynching' in Mostar

AU0802084296 Paris AFP in English
0129 GMT 8 Feb 96

[By Jean Luc Porte]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Mostar, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Feb 8 (AFP) — Fear gripped all the non-Croats in west Mostar Wednesday night after an evening of xenophobic violence by Croats angered by a new EU map for the city which would force them to share a district with the Moslems. [passage omitted]

"All our Serb and Moslem staff are terrified tonight because there is thirst for lynching out there," said a woman member of a humanitarian organisation.

Majda, a young Moslem woman who lives in the Croat-controlled western half of Mostar said the atmosphere recalled the worst days of the fighting between the two communities two years ago.

"I knew it was going to start again and tonight, Moslems like me know that the militiamen may come to our home at any moment to steal and murder the whole family," she said.

The decision by the authorities in west Mostar to impose a curfew from 08:00 p.m. (1900 GMT) to 05:00 a.m. (0400 GMT) with no explanation also drove up tension in the city.

Townsfolk are all aware that criminal gangs played a prominent role in the violence in which Koschnick himself was personally threatened by a mob who surrounded and jumped on his car shouting "Hang him! Kill him!".

An EU spokesman in Mostar said gunfire was heard was heard during the outburst while Croat police stood by without intervening.

The violence turned openly xenophobic as demonstrators chanted "we are going to throw all non-Christians out of the city... even people from mixed mariages will not be spared."

Nationalist songs blared continuously from the local radios during the evening. "It's just like the war again," said a Serb mother who remembers the bloody fighting which erupted in May 1993 between the Moslems and Croats of Mostar and lasted for 11 months. [passage omitted]

B-H: European Commission Demands Protection for Koschnick

AU0802110996 Paris AFP in English
1059 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Feb 8 (AFP) — The European Commission said Thursday [8 February] it has demanded that NATO ensures there is no repeat of Wednesday's humiliating harassment of EU administrator Hans Koschnick by angry Croats in the divided Bosnian city of Mostar.

"We have asked IFOR to assure the security of Mr. Koschnick," commission spokesman Klaus Van der Paes told AFP. The Commission has also appealed to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to help prevent any recurrence of the incidents.

NATO sources said contacts were underway to see how security could be stepped up, but underlined that it was not clear if this fell under the mandate of the NATO-led implementation force.

"We are in a grey area here," an alliance source said. "In theory security is the job of the international police force." Some 190 officers from various western European countries are currently based in Mostar, which has been under EU adminstration since 1993.

They however were powerless on Wednesday when hundreds of Croats ransacked Koschnick's office and after he announced new boundaries for Croat and Moslem districts in the divided city.

Koschnick himself was trapped in his car for more than an hour as an angry mob jumped on and rocked the vehicle.

Koschnick told German television on Thursday that he held the mayor of the Croat part of Mostar, Mijo Brajkovic, entirely responsible for the attack.

"The Croat police did not intervene," Koschnick said. "It is clear that everything had been prepared in advance."

Koschnick went on to warn that if his plan to unite the city failed, Europe would be faced with a new Berlin.

"If the EU accepts the division of this city they will have to choose a new administrator because no German could accept that," Koschnick said.

Mostar saw some of the fiercest fighting of the Bosnian conflict between Croats and Moslems.

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The success of attempts to reunite the city is seen as a key test of whether the Croat-Moslem federation will be able to survive in the longer term.

B-H: Hague Asks Sarajevo To Retain Arrested Serbs

AU0702143696 Paris AFP in English 1408 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Feb 7 (AFP) — The international war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on Wednesday [7 February] asked the Bosnian Government to retain in custody two Bosnian Serb officers arrested last week on suspicion of war crimes.

The request came from the court's chief prosecutor, Richard Goldstone.

B-H: Mladic: Arrest of Serbs Tests IFOR Neutrality

LD0702145996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (SRNA) — Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RSA] army, warned that the "abduction of Serb officers in Sarajevo has brought into question the Serb Republic's relations with the Implementation Force [IFOR]."

"This time everything happened under IFOR's auspices. This demonstrates that whenever a cease-fire or even peace are signed, the Muslims cannot resist either starting to kill us or refusing to let war prisoners go, as envisaged by the peace agreement," General Mladic said.

In an interview to the Belgrade-based weekly TELEGRAF, the RSA general staff commander said the abduction is "a major test for the peace forces; it will either show the Muslims that all the nations in Bosnia are being treated equally or that IFOR is after all an anti-Serb armed force."

Reacting to an announcement by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher about the opening of The Hague tribunal's office in Belgrade, General Mladic said, according to TELEGRAF, that he "is not aware of anything, and I do not know if the office will be opened to arrest me and Serb Republic President Dr. Radovan Karadzic."

"You would do better to ask those who think they can arrest either the Serb Republic president or me. I definitely have better and more pressing things to do," General Mladic told TELEGRAF.

B-H: Serb Official Says Accord 'Brought Into Question'

LD0702155796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 7 Feb (SRNA) — Dragan Dragic, the Serb Republic government representative for liaison with the Implementation Force [IFOR], today warned that the arrest of eight Serb soldiers in Sarajevo has brought into question the further implementation of the Dayton agreement in the city "for completely objective reasons."

"The abduction of General Djukic, Colonel Krsmanovic, and six other Serb Republic Army members represents an extremely risky reaction by the Muslim side to the positive moves which have been achieved in the implementation of the agreement in Sarajevo," Dragic told SRNA.

He said that the intention of the Muslim authorities was to show through the abduction that took place on 30 January that they were not bound to act in accordance with obligations arising from guarantees of safety offered to the Sarajevo Serbs by IFOR and peace envoy Carl Bildt.

"In addition," Dragic said, "if IFOR still has the duty of securing freedom of movement, the latest aggressive actions by the Muslims have completely compromised the presence of international troops."

The Serb Republic government representative for liaison with IFOR warned that "if the Serbs find they are forced to provide security conditions for their movement, the presence of at least one party in Bosnia-Herzegovina will become superfluous." [passage omitted]

B-H: Gen Gvero Assails Muslim Seizure of Gen Djukic

LD0702165896 Pale Srpski Radio-Televizija Studio Sarajevo Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Colonel General Milan Gvero, assistant commander of the Serb Republic army, gave a news conference in the Army Club in Banja Luka in connection with the abduction of Serb officers and soldiers in Sarajevo. Slavica Cebic has a report:

[Cebic] Serb officers and soldiers were taken to a Muslim prison by force, in contravention of the Dayton agreement, Colonel General Milan Gvero stated at the beginning of the news conference today, and went on to say:

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[Gvero] "This is a very dangerous and deliberate violation of the Dayton agreement, a form of insolent state piracy, a sure step toward thwarting the implementation of the Dayton agreement, and a sign that the Muslim side is thus putting pressure for the implementation of the agreement to be thwarted.

"General Djukic, his colleagues and other members of the Serb Republic army who were kidnapped in this practically illegal way should and must be returned immediately in the interest of peace, if there is a will for peace in this area. We expect the Implementation Force [IFOR], which has very broad powers bordering on the silver clause, or the silver dollar clause — i.e. being top authority in certain area for certain activities — that they will use their influence energetically so that these people are released."

[Cebic] Saying that General Djukic can never be linked with any sort of war crimes, General Gvero said that such accusations are completely unfounded, and are being used as a method of procrastination in the absence of any facts.

[Gvero] "I am convinced that no tribunal, the Hague tribunal included, with even the worst of intentions, will be able to link General Djukic with the nature of work of the Hague tribunal."

[Cebic] The main staff of the Serb Republic army has taken all measures and addressed IFOR on numerous occasions demanding the release of the Serb Army members, which is in the interest of peace in this area.

B-H: Serbs Urge IFOR Head To Free War Crime Suspects

AU0702214396 Paris AFP in English 1932 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Han-Pijesak, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 7 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb military leaders protested Wednesday [7 February] to IFOR [Implementation Force] Commander U.S. Admiral Leighton Smith that he should help free Serbs detained on war crimes charges in Sarajevo.

But Smith said he was "out of it," since the matter falls under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia that sits in The Hague.

The tribunal ruled Wednesday that the Bosnian Government should keep in custody a general and a colonel from among the eight Serbs it arrested.

Smith walked through ankle-deep snow after landing in a helicopter from Sarajevo to meet Bosnian Serb chief of general staff General Zdravko Tolimir, who was flanked by his Air Force and Army Commanders General Petar Skrbic and General Jovan Maric.

They met for three hours at a roadside restaurant six kilometres (four miles) south of Han-Pijesak, 60 kilometres (40 miles) northeast of Sarajevo.

Tolimir criticized "legal nonsenses which declared that those people who were captured could be witnesses for some criminal works."

He claimed that the Serbs arrested were inside the buffer zone along demilitarized front lines which the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) patrols.

Both IFOR and Bosnian authorities have said the Serbs were arrested in Sarajevo and not on the front lines.

"Our opinion is that... the IFOR commander is responsible for the people in that zone" of separation, and it should therefore fall upon him to secure their release, Tolimer said.

B-H: Mladic: Serbs May Freeze Relations With IFOR

AU0802104296 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 96 p 2

[Interview with Bosnian Serb army commander Ratko Mladic by Vladan Dinic and Djoko Kesic; place and date not given: "I Don't Know About The Hague Tribunal Bureau in Belgrade, and Whether They Will Open It To Arrest Me and Karadzic, You Have To Ask Those Who Think That They Can Arrest Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the Serb Republic, does not seem too bothered by the announcements that The Hague Tribunal is to open a bureau in Belgrade. He is rather more concerned about the fate of his two officers, arrested General Djordje Djukic, Lieutenant Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic, and soldier Radenko Todorovic.

The Muslim army arrested the high-ranking Serb officers and the soldier on 30 January on the road between Lukavica and Ilidza controlled by the Implementation Force [IFOR]. They had all the necessary papers for safe passage, and they were on their way to hand over to IFOR the facilities of the Serb Republic Army, which are to belong to the Muslim-Croat Federation in accordance with the peace agreement.

[Mladic] I do not know whether Gen. Djukic is still alive. I do not know about the fate of Lt. Col. Krsmanovic and soldier Todorovic, although we demanded their urgent release from IFOR. We have not heard a thing from IFOR so far, which confirms my theory that, every time a cease-fire is in force, the Muslims launch

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an attack, and now that peace has been signed in Dayton, instead of releasing all prisoners as agreed, they are arresting new ones!

[TELEGRAF] Can this act endanger the fragile peace in Bosnia?

[Mladic] Let us not talk about that now. However, if IFOR, which is supposed to guarantee freedom for the Serbs, does not do something urgently and obtains the release of Djukic, Krsmanovic, and Todorovic, the legitimate representatives of the Serb people, then we might even have to freeze relations with IFOR.

[TELEGRAF] What do you think IFOR will do?

[Mladic] This is a great test for them. Either they will show the Turks [derogatory term used for Bosnian Muslims by Serb nationalists] in Bosnia that all the nations are to be treated equally, or IFOR will turn into an armed force, against the Serbs again of course.

[TELEGRAF] Warren Christopher announced the opening of an office of The Hague Tribunal in Belgrade, which — according to some assessments — is a new step toward your arrest, and the arrest of President Radovan Karadzic.

[Mladic] I do not know about the opening of The Hague Tribunal office in Belgrade or whether it is to be opened for the purpose of arresting Karadzic and me.

[TELEGRAF] How realistic is your arrest?

[Mladic] You should ask those who think that they can arrest me and Karadzic.

[TELEGRAF] You have not been very present in the media.

[Mladic] I have better things to do.

[TELEGRAF] How is it there, where you are?

[Mladic] It could be better.

[TELEGRAF] How about a game of chess sometime? You like chess.

[Mladic] Whenever you want. Give my regards to TELEGRAF readers and the members of the editorial board, although you have really given me some stick on several occasions.

B-H: Local Serb Recounts U.S. 'Playing War'

AU0602131696 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 96 p 10

[Report by Jelenko Slatinac: "'Black Eagle' in a Field"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prnjavor — Vlado Usorac from the village of Sibovska near Prnjavor in the Serb Republic [Serb-held part of Bosnia-Herzegovina] had the most valuable spoils of war at the end of December. His "prisoner of war" was NATO commander in Bosnia Leighton Smith himself. The helicopter carrying Smith was forced to land just 150 meters from the house of the Serb peasant.

Joking aside, even a powerful machinery of the kind available to the Implementation Force [IFOR] — called "Fajfer" by the Prnjavor locals — can falter in the Bosnian hills and give quite a headache to the operation's leaders. That is what happened on 25 December last year, when a malfunction forced one "Black Eagle" helicopter escorted by an "Apache" to land in the village of Sibovska near Prnjavor.

General Leighton Smith immediately got in the "Apache" and flew off to Tuzla, while the crew of the "Black Eagle" and some of Leighton's security men were left to freeze in a field in Sibovska.

Combat Formation

On the same day, 25 December, at about 2300 [2200 GMT], a commando unit armed to the teeth was airlifted to Sibovska by helicopters. The soldiers immediately started digging trenches around the deserted headquarters helicopter, first in a circle for the defense of the helicopter, and then in a semicircle toward the village. The Sibovska locals did not interfere with the marines' work, but wondered about such extreme combat readiness. This trigger-happy combat readiness was also a cause for some smirking among the Sibovska locals.

Perhaps the marines would have gone on playing war a bit longer had not the winter, which can be unpredictable and severe in these parts, bared its teeth. Rain and wind hit like a hammer, filled the trenches with water and prevented helicopters from accessing the place where the commander's malfunctioning helicopter stood. The bad weather forced the marines to seek help from the Serbs.

"An American military surgeon, and English liaison officer Kennedy asked for help.

"They already had two frozen soldiers, and all the others, too, were at the end of their tether. They asked us to let them stay in the shed of my son-in-law Ranko Samardzija, who works in Austria. I said that they could stay in the cellar or the house. They no longer held their combat positions. They just stood guard by the malfunctioning helicopter," Vlado Usorac says.

Vlado offered the marines food and Serb slivovitz, but they declined. They ate what they had and waited for help from Tuzla. Since a storm was raging by then, U.S. helicopters could not fly, so an announcement was made

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that a truck convoy would bring the marines food and the necessary equipment.

"On Wednesday 27 December, a convoy of nine IFOR trucks appeared in Sibovska. One was carrying food and sleeping bags, while the other eight were packed with soldiers who were all armed to the teeth. The commander of the commando unit, a major by rank, arrived with them, and presented me with a medal as a sign of gratitude for helping his soldiers," Vlado Usorac says.

Explosions All Around

On that same day, 27 December, just when the nine IFOR trucks were getting ready to leave for Tuzla, explosions were heard in Sibovska.

"Is the convoy coming under attack?" Captain Kennedy asked Vlado Usorac.

"I could not convince them that it was only children throwing New Year's firecrackers, and the marines would not calm down until my son Vlastimir threw three firecrackers in front of Captain Kennedy. I was afraid that they would say that we had attacked them," Usorac says.

This "incident" with firecrackers thawed the relations slightly, and Captain Kennedy said that the marines were constrained because they had been told in the United States that: "The Serbs are a wild people, you should watch out with them, they are the only danger facing you." Asked by Captain Kennedy how long they could stay, Usorac says that he told them: "Stay a year. You are welcome. Stay until the end of your mandate, I don't mind."

The following day, on 28 December, a transport helicopter escorted by five "Apache" picked up the malfunctioning helicopter of Leighton Smith's and took it to the base in Hungary. "Preparations began for the evacuation of the commando unit, and Captain Bill Berlusoni allowed his soldiers to lay down their guns, and to partake in the drinks and food that we had laid out for them," Usorac says. "Helicopters were again in the air that day. One transport helicopter and five 'Apache' arrived. After drinking and eating with us, the marines said goodbye. They were weeping and kissing people. They could not believe that the Serbs were such hospitable people, and that they were not hostile toward them. Nine officers, two of them English, remained at my house in Sibovska."

Missile Fired by Mistake

On 29 December Vlado Usorac and his fellow villagers were again hosts to two pilots. The pilots told them that they had had a serious problem, that one of the pilots had fired a missile by mistake the day before when the soldiers left, and that they had arrived to collect the missile warhead, which had not exploded. When they found it, they were again Vlado Usorac's guests.

"We were drinking and chatting. I put them up in warm rooms, but the two pilots could not be in our company since they were officially responsible for the missile incident, which could have had serious consequences. We put up the two of them in the cellar. Then I insisted with Captain Kennedy that the two pilots be immediately brought to my house, since their commander's orders were not valid in my house, on my property, and I would not have the pilots treated inhumanely in my home. Only after consultations with Tuzla did they bring the pilots to my house, and they were then put up like the rest of them," Vlado Usorac says.

The U.S. military surgeon presented Usorac with a medal then as a sign of appreciation for helping the U.S. Army, and then he was asked how much they owed him for his help.

"Serb hospitality has no price. You, gentlemen, were the guests of upstanding Serb hosts. One thing you could have done, though, was to leave me the commander's helicopter. I could have used it to drop fertilizers on my field. They laughed, wondering how come we were not angry with them. I told them that we were angry with those who had ordered the bombing raids against us, and that ordinary officers and soldiers were not to be blamed for that. Then they promised that they would return in May and take me to the base in Tuzla. I set them a condition. I said that I would come only if I would be as safe there as they were at my home, and that Serb reporters must be allowed to come with me. They said yes and now I am waiting for May," peasant Vlado Usorac from Sibovska says jokingly.

Before leaving Sibovska, from Vlado Usorac's house, a marine sergeant said in a statement to American television:

"We hear bad things about the Serbs on TV but they are nice people. They took us in and helped us."

This statement by Sergeant I.C. Wimott was broadcast throughout the world. Vlado Usorac regrets that General Smith did not stay longer in Sibovska. Still, he was nevertheless almost a "prisoner." Serb peasant and fighter Vlado Usorac tried and managed to help U.S. soldiers. Because of their earlier prejudice against "the evil Serbs," they had been seriously threatened by the snow storm in their unnecessary trenches.

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"They could see what kind of people we are. We have nothing to be ashamed of, and it is up to them to use this experience and correct the image they have of the Serbs as a wild and evil people. If they do, I thank them. If they don't, shame on them. We are generous people," Usorac says.

People from NATO do not like to talk about how General Smith was forced to land among the Serbs. However, the Serbs know that IFOR is not almighty, and that the Bosnian hills are full of surprises. However, people that are prepared for peace are also prepared to help foreign soldiers in need.

B-H: 'U.S. Intelligence' Warning on Mujahidin Noted

LD0702154296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1423 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Feb. 7 (TANJUG) — U.S. intelligence services say that about 200 mujaheddin have remained in Bosnia-Herzegovina, although they had to leave the region by Jan. 20 under the Dayton Agreement.

A U.S. military expert told the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE news agency that U.S. intelligence services suspected mujaheddin were linked with Iran and that the question of whether further assistance to the Bosnian Muslim army was justified was being raised with a reason.

The 200 mujaheddin are what remained of a few thousand Islamic volunteers who fought in Bosnia in the name of Allah, said the expert, who wished to stay anonymous.

They are deployed in the area of the central Bosnian town of Zenica, close to the zone of deployment of the Bosnia peace Implementation Force's U.S. contingent.

The expert said that there were growingly frequent accusations that the Muslim Sarajevo government had granted the Bosnian nationality to mujaheddin, which is explicitly forbidden under the Dayton Agreement.

Estimates say that between 3,000 and 4,000 mujaheddin fought on the Muslim side during the Bosnian war.

B-H: Source Says IFOR 'Avoiding' War Crime Arrests

AU0702214496 Paris AFP in English 2016 GMT 7 Feb 96

[By Michael Adler]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Han-Pijesak, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 7 (AFP) — The NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) is avoiding arresting indicted war criminals in Bosnia as this would cause political problems, an IFOR source said Wednesday [7 February].

He said on the sidelines of an IFOR-Serb meeting near a Serb military base at Han-Pijesak in eastern Bosnia that IFOR's policy was to detain war criminals if it came upon them, but that it remained up to ground commanders on the spot at the time to make that judgement.

IFOR policy was not to seek out indicted war criminals, he said, adding that IFOR doubted it would be making any arrests at this time.

"We would be very conscious of the requirement to remain even-handed. Once you start you should be seeking out those from the other sides just to be even-handed — and seeking out is not our business," the source said.

His comments were the first time IFOR has admitted it would prefer not to arrest war criminals.

Previously analysts had said IFOR's policy of only arresting war criminals if it came across them was to avoid a Somalia-type disaster of seeking to capture a well-protected warlord.

But the IFOR source's comments Wednesday showed that the international peacekeepers were concerned that seizing indicted soldiers from one faction would have to be matched by capturing war crimes suspects from the two other factions.

This would probably destroy cooperation among Croats, Moslems and Serbs with the peace process, observers said.

The topic came up when IFOR's overall commander, U.S. Admiral Leighton Smith, met Bosnian Serb military commanders at a restaurant six kilometres (four miles) south of the Serbs' main military base at Han-Pijesak, 60 kilometres (40 miles) northeast of Sarajevo.

Smith did not go to the Serb base at Han-Pijesak. IFOR officers said this was because the restaurant was the official greeting place the Serb top brass used, especially on first visits.

But another reason might have been that the top Serb commander Ratko Mladic lives at the base. Smith has refused to meet Mladic because he has been indicted by the international tribunal in the Hague as a war criminal.

Smith has said his troops would arrest Mladic if they came across them, but Smith has also been careful to avoid any possible contact with the Serb general.

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B-H: Article Discusses Serbian View of War Crimes

AU0802111796 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 96 pp 26-27

[Bozo Nikolic article: "How To Live With Crime"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is fading away, a small number of the local Serbs are beginning to be concerned by the death of thousands, tens of thousands of Muslims and Croats who were killed in an attempt to create an ethnically clean state. There are many more subjects of the Serbian Republic, however, who — even if they disagree with the Pale leadership — insist that the world has forgotten that everybody in Bosnia- Herzegovina made mass deportations of members of another nation, killed thousands of them and destroyed their villages, so that there are no innocent people in Bosnia-Herzegovina anyway.

Foreign observers who have been following the Bosnian tragedy for a long time already consider this simply incorrect and are letting the Serbs know that not everybody was involved in the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina, at least not to the degree and not with the barbarity with which the Serbs made it. The observers have concluded that such statements make it clear that many Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina desperately want to believe that the crimes committed in their name were something quite common and that they can therefore be forgotten. Foreign observers will have to make decisive efforts to convince them that this is not true, just as was the case with the Germans after the World War II.

Half a century ago, the Germans were not allowed to deny their holocaust. Before the final crash of the Third Reich, the victorious and angry armies of the Allies collected prisoners of war, those who lived close to Hitler's death caps, Nazis, and local leaders and paraded with them beside heaps of corpses in crematories. This is the memory of a then young soldier, who later became a famous German writer, Guenther Grass, who said that that testimony made him aware of the nature of the society he fought for and tried to defend and motivated him to examine for the rest of his life. The teams of military photographers of the Allies' armies took pictures of horrible scenes of liberated camps in order to make it an eternal memory that there was a holocaust. Apart from that, Nazi documents were collected in archives controlled by the Allies in Berlin. This forced Germany to confront its past, to recognize and overcome it, and raise itself above the Nazi era and this, after all, helped it to join Europe.

Foreign observers think that after World War II Yugoslavia had mixed memories about the crimes committed against the Serbs and the Jews by the Croatian Fascists. The notorious Jasenovac [concentration camp in Croatia during World War II], they claim, was turned into a memorial center, but Tito never visited it. The marshal used war crimes as a political whip, not only against those who committed acts of genocide, but also against all Croatian and Serbian nationalists who opposed his communist regime. Regarding everybody as identical to either the Ustasha regime or the Serbian Chetniks, who — although they were anti-Nazi — also committed crimes, Tito helped the fascists and monarchists from World War II to become popular heroes for the present generations of Nazis, observers assess.

Some of the observers see the present situation as a kind of war against memories, which, in their opinion revives with the efforts of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and those Croats who deny Ustasha crimes of five decades ago, to hide the traces of the crimes committed during the last four years. According to what British troops from the IFOR [Implementation Force] and the local population around Ljubija claim, the Serbs excavate corpses from mass graves located there, they mix them in iron ore mills and strew them all over with chemicals before throwing them into the strip mining trash. Foreign reporters have been claiming in the last several days that in another part of Bosnia, in Srebrenica, they come across human sculls, bones, other decaying body parts, or pieces of clothes or shoes almost everywhere.

In the meantime, the Serbs in Belgrade and Pale have prepared newspaper articles with "proof" that it was not the Serbs killing civilians in Sarajevo but the Muslim-led Bosnian government, which secretly killed its subjects in an attempt to gain the sympathies of the international community. Foreign observers find it astonishing that any kind of innocence can be claimed if it is known that 900 shells fell on average from Serbian positions on Sarajevo [every day], but sincere and well-educated Serbs believe in these stories.

It cannot be denied that the world saw the pictures of transports in cargo railroad cars in 1992, that it heard the news about thousands of young people who disappeared and saw numerous testimonies by Croats and Muslims who suffered terror and rape or saw how their brothers and fathers were encircled in Srebrenica and were not seen again, which was confirmed by many sides. This might be enough for the rest of the world (including the United Nations commission) to conclude that the Serbs were exceptionally brutal in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it was not enough to prevent the Serbs denying everything. The lie that is at the

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center of their denials — that the Serbs did not do anything special — is in the opinion of observers not only an attempt to protect war criminals in Pale or in Belgrade but also a very important defense mechanism for the ordinary Serbs. It makes the soldiers and their countrymen believe, regardless of how horrible the crimes were, that they were inevitable, that they were a part of the war.

Testimonies of the Army of the Serbian Republic members who performed "ethnic cleansing" around Prijedor and Banja Luka are mentioned. They claim that their tasks were horrible but necessary, and in their opinion they were even engaged in a strange self- sacrifice with the aim of seeing how genocide is performed.

Like "Einsatz-Groups" [task forces] in World War II who lined up Jews, partisans, the mentally sick, and gypsies beside open graves and shot them so that they fell into them, the Bosnian Serbs considered that they could perform their tasks more easily if they were drunk. "Do you think that any of us thought this was pleasant?" This is the question a commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic addressed to foreign reporters. "It was a duty we performed in order to save our home country."

Foreign observers think that the problem of the Serbs in Bosnia- Herzegovina and outside it as well as of the international community in confronting the brutal truth lies in the lack of first-hand information. The officials in Belgrade insist that the Muslims who disappeared in Srebrenica were killed by their countrymen, which may seem funny, but if cases like Ljubija or Brcko are not substantiated by firm evidence, it is certain that many Serbs will believe in their own lies and have difficulty in confronting the consequences or other citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is inevitable if peace is to be established.

The role foreigners should play in this is still uncertain. For the moment, the foreigners, who have the power to force the Serbs to confront the recent past, seem to be worried that too much truth could endanger the peace. A recent statement issued by U.S. President Bill Clinton, William Perry, his defense secretary, and Havier Solane, the NATO secretary general, regarding help for international investigators, seems to be the announcement that the West is getting ready to stop the lies. Although NATO troops are not in exactly the same situation as the Allies' troops that defeated Adolf Hitler, since they are not occupying, but peace forces, invited to Bosnia-Herzegovina, they still have enough power to act according to their own will, they can travel where they want to and, if they decide to disclose war crimes, they can do so.

B-H: RS Opposition Considering 'Parallel Government'

LD0702162896 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 7 Feb (TANJUG) — Concerned with the authorities' slowness and incapability to make the state function, we are seriously considering setting up a parallel government in the period preceding the elections, Dr. Dragutin Ilic, chairman of the Socialist Party of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [SPRS], told TANJUG today.

According to Ilic, the slowness and incapability are visible primarily in "mounting but unresolved problems in the economic and social sphere, and in reconstruction and development, where international financial institutions should be engaged most urgently."

Ilic said that, while the Muslim-Croat Federation has prepared around 700 projects bidding for international financial resources, in the Serb Republic this is still only "under consideration."

"This is why the SPRS wants elections as soon as possible, because it is unrealistic to expect the problems to be solved by the same people who have caused them through the lack of ability and inertia," Ilic said.

In Ilic's opinion, the current government and the [governing] Serb Democratic Party [SDS] are presently preoccupied with themselves, looking for ways of alleviating the accumulated popular discontent caused by the high price that has to be paid for the mistakes of the government and the SDS.

Ilic draws attention to poverty on the one hand and the extremely rich war profiteers among the authorities and the party [SDS] on the other, and also to the SDS theory that "the survival of the Serb Republic and the Serb people is guaranteed only if the SDS remains in power. This is absolute nonsense."

"On the contrary, if the SDS wins the elections, the Serb Republic will be faced with an exodus of good people, and so we will lose in peacetime the state we gained in the war. It is for this reason that the SPRS has to win," Ilic said.

Among other mistakes of the governing SDS, Ilic mentions also the belief that only the SDS leadership and members deserve credit for the struggle for the Serb Republic, although "patriots from the SPRS and other parties have equally fought and died for it."

Asked about his assessment of the chances of preserving, despite all the pitfalls, the peace gained with great

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difficulties, Ilic said "there are at least two strong reasons for so doing."

First, according to Ilic, there is the resolve of the international community to fully implement the peace it has created. In this, it is of the utmost importance that the international community maintains an impartial attitude to the parties that until recently were enemies in the civil-religious war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The second reason is the realization among citizens of both entities — the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation — of the futility of war and of the advantages of a peaceful life without mutual extermination, and with the release of all prisoners, demobilization, a return to a normal and more humane life.

"In this respect we are pleased with the fact that the Serb Republic has been cooperative in its dealings with the international community, even though the international community has shown a certain lack of trust in the Serb Republic and, at least for the time being, is treating us a little less favorably than the other entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina," Ilic said.

I believe, he said, "that this is partly caused by the authorities' manipulation of the people in Serb Sarajevo, Odzak, and other locations due to come under the control of the Muslim-Croat Federation. To start with, people opposed the Dayton Agreement, accused President Milosevic of allegedly betraying national interests," they said that they would turn "Sarajevo into Beirut," and that they would "never live under Alija's [Izetbegovic] authority."

"And now, although the authorities have ordered the transfer of firms and people [to Serb-held territories], they are trying to convince people to stay, insisting that the Dayton Agreement is the best solution."

Contrary to this, throughout this period the SPRS has been recommending that the Serbs stay in their centuries-old homes, that they insist on the international community guaranteeing their national, cultural, economic, and all other rights while at the same time guaranteeing the same rights for other nations in the Serb Republic, Ilic said in conclusion.

B-H: SDS Deputy on Peace Accord, Upcoming Elections

AU0702214296 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 96 p 2

[Interview with SDS Deputy Ljubo Bosiljcic by B. Maric; date and place not given: "Changes in the Political Leadership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "This year, the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina — in the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croatian federation — will decide in elections on the substance and destiny of the Dayton peace agreement reached at the end of November 1995," Ljubo Bosiljcic, a deputy in the National Assembly of the Serb Republic, points out, and claims that the greatest resistance to the Dayton agreement arises from the fear of the forthcoming election results.

[Maric] Does this mean it is possible that the Dayton agreement will not be implemented consistently?

[Bosiljcic] As long as IFOR [Implementation Force] is in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the peace agreement will be implemented regardless of obstructions that may occur from time to time such as the violation of the regulation on the release of prisoners of war, for example. This is why it is important that the elections are held as early as possible, since it will be the best proof of who supports a peaceful Bosnia and who a war-torn, blood-soaked Bosnia.

[Maric] The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], of which you are a member and one of the founders, the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in Bosnia-Herzegovina — the ruling parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina — expect to be victorious in the election. In your opinion, what are their chances?

[Bosiljcic] These parties were defeated in Dayton and, consequently, the election results should not reflect the expectations of these parties' leaderships. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, things are often decided by emotions and not by common sense.

Defeat in Dayton

[Maric] Why do you think that the SDS, the SDA, and the HDZ were defeated in Dayton?

[Bosiljcic] The SDA and the HDZ led Bosnia into the war because of their different goals. The SDA, led by Alija Izetbegovic, wanted a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina. The HDZ, governed from Zagreb, practically tried to reach a Greater Croatia with its borders along the Drina River. Bosnia-Herzegovina has been

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split up, however — underhandedly, it has to be admitted — and the Greater Croatia, if it exists at all, has reached the Neretva River.

[Maric] Are these the only defeats that the ruling political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina suffered with the conclusion of the peace agreement?

[Bosiljcic] The policy of ethnic cleansing has also been defeated, since all refugees and displaced persons are entitled to return to their homes and to vote in the election in the communes in which they were entered on electoral lists in 1991, even before they return home. The destruction of religious monuments has come to an end, too, since all religious communities are entitled to renovate or rebuild them. Criminals who committed war crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be tried in The Hague....

[Maric] What is the responsibility of the SDS?

[Bosiljcic] The SDS did not start the war, it only accepted it. The SDS, or rather the leadership it established in the Serb Republic, is primarily responsible for not having stopped the war in mid-1994, for rejecting the Contact Group peace plan. The consequences of that refusal are catastrophic for us. The SDS is also responsible for ethnic cleansing in the Serb Republic.

People Stronger Than Programs

[Maric] What will be decisive in the forthcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina — programs or people?

[Bosiljcic] All party programs are "scenarios for making people happy," and they are all similar. In other words, people will be decisive — the nominees from election lists, by whose capabilities and incapabilities and honesty or dishonesty the voters will be guided.

[Maric] In your opinion, which parties in the Serb Republic have the best chances in the forthcoming elections?

[Bosiljcic] Personally, I would prefer the SDS to win. It should, however, return to its nature and its principles, which have been almost completely lost in this war. The Radical Party is split into several parties within itself, and apart from that, they support war, and the Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina is fed up with war. The Yugoslav United Left [JUL] has no serious chances in my opinion. The Socialist Party of the Serb Republic is organized in the best way and it is the most convincing party at the moment. One must also count on the Party of Independent Social Democrats led by Milorad Dodik.

It is my impression that the socialists and the social democrats, supported by several small parties, organized on the regional level, have the best chance of winning more than 50 percent of the seats in the Assembly of the Serb Republic. The SDS and the Radical Party will be a powerful opposition.

[Box, p 2]

Bloodshed Useless

[Maric] You supported the thesis about a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina. With the recognition of the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croatian federation as "the entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina," it has still been divided in a certain sense.

[Bosiljcic] In March 1992, I published in Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE a text entitled "The Division of the Indivisible" in which I opposed a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the inequality of its nations. The Muslims and the Croats, against the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, wanted to secede from Yugoslavia and dominate the Serb population. We responded with an unconstitutional measure too — by seceding from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many elements of the peace treaty have returned us to where we were before the war, which means that the bloodshed was unnecessary and useless.

B-H: Serb SPS Leader on Meeting Milosevic, Elections

AU0202172496 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 96 p 14

[Report by R. Kovacevic, including interview with Bosnian Serb SPS leader Dragutin Ilic by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "How To Help the Serbs Across the Drina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The democratic finale in the Serb republic is nearing, and this will certainly contribute toward easing the suffering of the broad masses that have borne the weight of the war on its shoulders. Elections are nearing as well, which are supposed to show a readiness to accept changes for the better, as well as the solidarity of the Serb people....

This was stated for POLITIKA by Dragutin Ilic, chairman of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] of the Serb republic, after a meeting with Slobodan Milosevic and a group of prominent political and state representatives. Let us remember, they briefed President Milosevic on current political, social, and other issues in the Serb republic and stressed their dedicated efforts to establish as soon as possible a broad range of relations, the free movement of citizens and normal traffic flow, and trade and commodity exchanges, which presupposes a dynamic development of overall economic relations.

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Why Are Provisions Overpriced in Banja Luka?

According to Ilic, the meeting was called at the initiative of the guests, aimed at mutual introduction to a series of substantial questions which the Serb republic is facing. "Peace is coming, and we need to revive the economy so that people can come back to their homes. However, the difficulties are very serious in this regard, and it is not only Banja Luka that is swamped with refugees. One should know that the populace of [Bosanski] Petrovac, Drvar, and other municipalities that are now occupied used to be self-sufficient and also supplied the army, while now they are hardly able to survive even with aid from humanitarian organizations...," Ilic says.

How can Serbia and Yugoslavia intervene? Ilic believes that the possibilities exist, but such attempts so far have failed because of mafia-type actions by some people who are within the leadership of the Serb republic. Therefore, provisions in Banja Luka, for instance, are sold at excessively higher prices than in Belgrade.... "Our party will discuss how to go about having trustworthy firms and organizations supply people with provisions at lower prices, and then our people will discuss the matter in Belgrade with representatives of the government, the Chamber of Commerce, and firms...," Ilic says.

Is this an announcement of the lifting of the blockade at the FRY-Serb republic border? Ilic believes that the answer to this question should be sought in the behavior of the Serb republic authorities. "The strategy of the Serb Republic socialists is clear: The blockade is to be lifted from the people's attitudes and their internal understanding. For instance, this morning three of our young socialists who were going to a meeting in Belgrade were stopped at Sremska Raca, even though it had already been agreed that all citizens should be treated equally while crossing the border...," Ilic says, adding that it is unquestionable that the SPS and the SPS of the Serb republic are very close and aware of the understandable differences and circumstances. "I would even say that it is one party," Ilic says, adding that their platforms are very similar.

Distrust of Current Authorities

The socialists in the Serb republic are looking forward to the elections, for which they are particularly preparing. Ilic points out that the nationalist parties, which are now in power in all parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, have lost their legitimacy, and not only because they chose the war option in 1992, but also because they were against holding elections the year before, as is stipulated by the constitution. "We stressed to the ruling SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] on several occasions the need to look at the national goal of the Serb people in the Serb republic from a democratic point of view — that is, from different angles — but they, as well as some other political organizations, ignored us. People know that, so they will express their opinion when they cast their votes... The elections are necessary, and quite soon because of the reconstruction in the first place," Ilic claims.

[POLITIKA] But the current leadership of the Serb republic — at least according to the statements of some leading people — is supporting the peace policy more and more.

[Ilic] We do not trust them. They had several noteworthy chances to prove that they are against war and that they want the fighting to end, but they kept on pursuing their policy because the war made it possible for them to do what they wanted and to ignore the necessity of establishing a legal state.

[POLITIKA] Radovan Karadzic stated once that he would allow foreign observers to conduct an investigation on the localities of alleged mass graves?

[Ilic] I cannot believe that such mass graves exist or that there are individuals capable of doing anything like that. But if such allegations are proven to be true, then because of the dignity of the Serb people and the necessity to free ourselves from a stigma, everyone should answer for his or her part in the collective blame. However, I have one condition: Such people should be tried by our courts without being extradited abroad.

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Croatia: Tudjman Aide, Kinkel Discuss Mostar

LD0802120996 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Ivo Sanader, head of the office of the president of the republic, has discussed the current situation in Mostar with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

Dr. Sanader said that the decision of EU Administrator Hans Koschnick on the administration of Mostar contravenes the Dayton Agreement and the agreement Mr. Koschnick reached with the Croat side about 10 days ago. He asked Minister Kinkel to do everything necessary for the decision to be brought into line with the agreement and with the Dayton resolutions.

Minister Kinkel asked the Croatian Government to use its influence to defuse the tensions.

The head of the president's office discussed the same topic with Susanna Agnelli, Italian foreign minister and chairperson of the EU Council of Ministers, the office of the president of the Republic of Croatia said.

Croatia: Commentary Assesses Risks of New War

AU0702141596 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Feb 96 p 4

[Commentary by Aleksandar Milosevic: "IFOR Like UNPROFOR"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Time limits and other provisions of the Dayton agreement cannot be changed. This is what all the international participants in the creation and signing of the Dayton agreement claimed. However, good wishes are one thing and reality is something completely different. The first exceptions to the Dayton agreement are taking place in Sarajevo, in many people's opinion, at the most critical point on which the whole peace process could enter a blind alley. According to the Dayton agreement the Bosnian Serb police should have left parts of Sarajevo under their control by 3 February, but, as was stated by Michael Steiner, one of the UN high-level officials in charge of the implementation of the agreement, the Serb police will stay in certain parts of Sarajevo until 19 March. On that day all of Sarajevo should come under the authority of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Michael Walker, the British officer acting as commander of the IFOR [Implementation Forces] ground forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has also confirmed the exception to the Dayton agreement regarding Serb police in Sarajevo. In his opinion, the peace process will be slowed down because, this British officer claims: "You cannot impose anything on people..."

This shows that certain IFOR officers are taking the direction in which UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] was once acting in Croatia, and later on also in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For that, the appraisal of Michael Walker is not based upon the exact contents of the Dayton agreement and the mandate given to IFOR. The Implementation Forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina can impose the provisions of the agreement on those sides which do not want to carry it out. However, it is obvious that the British officer has only been following political instructions which he receives from certain circles of the EU. In all likelihood, someone is not in a hurry to realize the Dayton agreements.

Certain member states of the EU openly show that they would be very glad if they could turn IFOR into UNPROFOR, with its inefficiency and slow decisionmaking. For that, they clearly let us know that they are ready to offer an opportunity to the Bosnian Serb leaders to buy time. Such a policy has only prolonged the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the amount of destruction and increased the number of casualties to unimagined proportions. Therefore the first indications that IFOR could turn into UNPROFOR, regarding manner of action, should be prevented in the very beginning. Unless this is done, the Dayton agreement will remain a dead letter on a sheet of paper, and new conflicts and spreading of a new war could become a question of days. It is clear that it would be impossible to contain the new war conflict within the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

If one really does want peace, then all the provisions of the Dayton agreement and all the deadlines determined by that document must be respected. Only this Agreement and IFOR can grant peace to Bosnia and to the whole region. Otherwise, the UNPROFOR syndrome could return everything to the beginning.

Croatia: Official Announces Purge in Ruling HDZ

AU0702180596 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 96 p 13

[Interview with Vesna Skare-Ozbolt, deputy chief of the Cabinet of the Croatian President, by Davor Ivankovic in Zagreb; date not given: "We Have Launched a Big Purge in the HDZ Because of Crime in the Transformation and Manipulation of Apartments in Zagreb and Split!"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Ivankovic] What is the basis of such a firm conviction of Croatian official policy, but also of high U.S. officials, that peaceful reintegration will be successfully implemented? The public and part of the Croatian political scene is not quite certain of that.

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[Skare-Ozbolt] There are two main reason. Croatian authorities can be fully satisfied with the way the two latest resolutions have been adopted by the UN Security Council and their contents, and we are also satisfied with the Basic Agreement that Hrvoje Sarinic has signed with the Serb side. In those resolutions it is mentioned for the first time not only that the relevant region is an integral part of the Republic of Croatia, but also that the goal of the transitional period is reintegrating those regions in the legal system of Croatia. The very presence of General Klein, who appears to be a very resolute person, and all his latest statements—for instance: "My job is to reintegrate that region in the Republic of Croatia, and all the local people will be citizens of Croatia."—are a good enough guarantee for successful reintegration and our satisfaction. Of course, our best guarantee is the Croatian state.

[Ivankovic] Has Croatia any guarantees that demilitarization will be implemented?

[Skare-Ozbolt] It is a voluntary demobilization, so there always arises the question—"What if the Serbs would not want to hand over arms voluntarily?" There is an element of security built in the UN resolution—on the 14th day from the beginning of the deadline for demilitarization General Klein will submit a report to the UN Security Council on the pace of disarmament. If disarmament is not carried out according to plan, it may happen that the UN Security Council makes a decision on withdrawal of international troops from that region—which means in that case that would be Croatia's internal affair!

[Ivankovic] What will happen with arms collected?

[Skare-Ozbolt] The arms collected will be handed over to General Klein, but as far as I know the Serbs are already pulling out heavy weapons and transferring them to Serbia. General Klein will take the collected arms from the region and probably hand them over to the Croatian authorities, or destroy them, which we have to discuss first. The attitude of the Republic of Croatia is that in the region not a single piece of Serb machinery can remain.

[Ivankovic] How will Croatia participate in the transitional administration?

[Skare-Ozbolt] In the transitional administration there will be a Croatian Government representative, Ivica Kostovic, who has been appointed to that position by President Tudjman because of the need for direct coordination between General Klein and the Croatian Government. In addition to the representative of the Croatian Government the transitional administration will include a representative of the returnees (Croat), a representative of minorities (Hungarian), and a representative of Serbs from that region.

Adjustment to Cohabitation

[Ivankovic] Will the entire transitional administration also be physically present in that region?

[Skare-Ozbolt] For instance, the office of Ivica Vrkic and his deputy Mirko Tankosic will be based there where the headquarters of General Klein is. Whether they will be living there, or travel to work from Osijek, is a technical matter and minor question.

[Ivankovic] The Americans point out that the Serbs from those regions have entirely accepted peaceful reintegration. Is this true, or is it just an overly optimistic assertion?

[Skare-Ozbolt] According to what we know, but also to talks that our representatives Vrkic and Tankosic held with Serb representatives, they have accepted peaceful reintegration and are aware what will happen if they do not accept it.

[Ivankovic] But the Croatian Army cannot enter that area as long as the transitional administration lasts.

[Skare-Ozbolt] There is no need for the Croatian Army to enter the area because the Croatian police and customs service will be there. There will be three police forces—the international, the mixed Croatian-Serb, and the Croatian police at the international border of the Republic of Croatia.

[Ivankovic] There is a possibility that the transitional administration could last even up to two years.

[Skare-Ozbolt] Yes, there is, but Croatia will do anything to make sure that there is no need for the deployment of international troops for more than one year.

[Ivankovic] How likely is it for the Croats and ethnic Hungarians who were expelled from the region to return home during the presence of the transitional administration?

[Skare-Ozbolt] Mr. Kostovic and Mr. Vrkic are already holding meetings with our returnees, explaining to them ways of return, and their response is very good. Returnees can hardly wait to go back to their homes and fields. The majority of housing capacities in Baranja has been preserved, so there will be no difficulties with accommodation. In those areas there will be Croatian land registries, so the protection of private property will be guaranteed.

[Ivankovic] What will happen with the Serbs who have in the meantime moved into Croatian houses?

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[Skare-Ozbolt] They will leave them, and some other, temporary accommodation will be provided for them. Houses are to be given back to their real owners. The Serbs who are Croatian citizens can live wherever they want, just like all other Croatian citizens, and they can also return to their homes. In the first half of the year of the transitional administration's mandate just such problems will be resolved, while in the second half the adjustment to cohabitation will be implemented. We have heard that some Serb representatives plan to settle some 30,000 Serb refugees from Krajina in Baranja, but that is not true—Baranja is the best preserved part of the region, and that is the place where real return will be happening. We have already determined places in which Croats and ethnic Hungarians will be able to return immediately, according to a pilot project and after the completed demilitarization.

[Ivankovic] Which places do you refer to?

[Skare-Ozbolt] Those are Bilje, Kopacevo, and Baranjsko Petrovo Selo. In the region of Osijek those are Tenja, Tenjski Antunovac, and Laslovo, while in the region of Vinkovci those are the following villages by the river Bosut: Lipovac, Cerici, Apsinice, and Nijemci.

[Ivankovic] When will representatives of the Croatian policy and authorities, for instance President Tudjman, be able to visit the region?

[Skare-Ozbolt] The president has always been the first to visit all such places, and so will he in this region as well. That will probably be in the spring this year.

[Ivankovic] Are there any proposals about determining a special status for Baranja?

[Skare-Ozbolt] I have heard about such ideas—that Baranja should be linked up with Novi Sad in a sort of interzone, but those are just speculations. There are no reasons to treat Baranja differently than other regions. There will be no bargain, those are just rumors!

Corruption and Crime in HDZ

[Ivankovic] The ruling HDZ, particularly after the last elections, is announcing cleansing his lines from corruption and crime, while your colleague, Ivic Pasalic, at a meeting of the Presidential Council has given a green light to state services to begin settling accounts with local mafia.

[Skare-Ozbolt] At the aforementioned meeting of the Presidential Council there were representatives of the legislative, executive and judicial authorities, which will start severe control and persecution of all forms of illegality and crime in the political, public, and administrative life.

[Ivankovic] What sorts of misuses and crime are you referring to?

[Skare-Ozbolt] I am referring to misuses of social positions, which the State Agency for Revision is working on right now, and it will finish its report on 1995 very soon. Those are transgressions and illegal activities with regard to the transformation, excessive acquisition of wealth without paying taxes and duties to the state, and misuse of the Law on Housing Facilities Construction. These are four very serious topics, to which all state bodies, and particularly the State Agency for Revision will have to react in a very competent and unambiguous manner.

[Ivankovic] Since those offenses are directly bound up with authorities and powerful political positions, can the authorities be expected to clean up their own lines first?

[Skare-Ozbolt] The ruling HDZ will start cleaning up its own lines, but the action will not end with members of the HDZ, and it will also spread to all the bureaucratic structures, leftovers of socialism and the old times.

[Ivankovic] When?

[Skare-Ozbolt] In February and March! We are waiting only for final reports from the Agency for Revision and results of relevant executive and judicial bodies.

[Ivankovic] How will the state and party leaderships react, when the reports clearly confirm that misuses of positions have been present also with the very top authorities?

[Skare-Ozbolt] As soon as it is established that someone has misused his or her position or evaded taxes, he or she will be punished, whereas if that happens to be one of the authorities, he or she will be removed!

[Ivankovic] For instance, do you suspect that some ministers, officials in the state leadership, or officials of the HDZ have also misused their positions?

[Skare-Ozbolt] One ought to wait for the State Agency for Revision to finish its report. All I could tell you now, in advance, would be a superficial assessment. The Agency is checking out the work of all civil servants, from the lowest to the highest. If ministers or party leaders happen to be incriminated they will be removed.

[Ivankovic] When do you expect the Agency to finish its 1995 report?

[Skare-Ozbolt] That is a very comprehensive job, but I hope it will be finished soon.

[Ivankovic] You have said that as early as in February it will be pretty stormy.

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[Skare-Ozbolt] The Agency and the state prosecutor's office have been assigned to investigate all forms of illegal action and to handle the process very severely. Which is to say, in cases where indications already exist the handling should be accelerated!

[Ivankovic] Since you are already mentioning indications, in which sectors have the greatest misuses, that is, the greatest number of them, been noticed?

[Skare-Ozbolt] Definitely in the sector of taxes, which means evasion of taxes, and in the housing sector. In the transformation there have also been criminal offenses and many cases of misuse of official positions. There are many indications that in Zagreb, Split, Osijek, and Rijeka there have been many manipulations with flats.

[Ivankovic] What are the main reasons for launching such a purge and search for illegality? Why is that so important to HDZ just now?

[Skare-Ozbolt] There are two main reasons. Social tensions have arisen, the number of welfare cases has increased, and there are more and more unemployed. Besides, the territorial rounding off of Croatia has been completed because we consider that reintegration will resolve the problem of Croatian state borders.

This is to say, Croatia is now supposed to turn to internal problems only. [passage omitted]

Civil Servants and Private Business

[Ivankovic] Has the act of purging the HDZ caused alarm in the party?

[Skare-Ozbolt] One does not feel any considerable internal alarm, and many have even demanded that the entire action start sooner. Even earlier the judiciary was being urged to start an investigation, but that was not possible out of objective reasons, because our judiciary was not fully established. I am convinced that the majority of HDZ members is not afraid of any controls. [passage omitted]

[Ivankovic] Will it be further possible for civil servants, even the leading ones, to carry on simultaneously with their administrative functions their private or family businesses as well?

[Skare-Ozbolt] We had such cases. It turned out it is better to have a civil servant financially secured and untroubled. That is the basic precondition, but also that he does not perform any other job. We shall apply the same rules that exist in the West:. When somebody takes up, for instance, a ministerial duty, it will no longer be possible for that person to have any connection with his or her private business. Which is to say, that person will not be able to make use of his or her position and thus influence the private business.

Croatia: Intelligence, Counterintelligence Viewed

AU0702190696 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Feb 96 p 7

[Article by Mario Galic: "Espionage According to the Israeli Model"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The appointment of Luka Bebic as head of the National Security Office [UNS] has stimulated the interest of the Croatian general public in that office and in the organization of all Croatian intelligence and counter-intelligence services.

Those who are well informed about this subject have already noticed that the way in which the Croatian intelligence and counter-intelligence services are organized is very similar to that in Israel, where there is a committee that supervises and coordinates the work of all the services. There, Memune [not further specified] is the chairman of the committee and, at the same time, the most important person in the intelligence and counter-intelligence community. From February this year, this office will be discharged by Luka Bebic, because the UNS is in charge of control of all the intelligence and counter-intelligence services in Croatia. Apart from supervising their work, the UNS is also in charge of the analysis and synthesis of all the data gathered in that way, and in charge of issuing appraisal reports to all interested state leaders. Thus, on a regular basis the UNS will deliver its appraisals to the president of the Republic, the ministers of foreign and internal affairs, and the minister of defense, but also to many others. In its work, the UNS is responsible to the president and to the National Assembly.

From the purely organizational point of view, the UNS consists of a certain number of analysts in charge of making appraisals that often form the basis for important state decisions. Despite this, the UNS has no executive workers in the field who would be in charge of gathering data, but it uses the work of other intelligence services. And there are a few of them.

Among the most important is the Croatian Information Service (HIS). This service's basic task is to gather all information abroad that is relevant for the security of the Republic of Croatia. In that, one does not gather only information of military importance, although this is of the highest importance for the state that spent five years at war, but also all information from the political and economic domains. The Israeli equivalent of this service would be Mossad, probably the most famous intelligence service in the world (beside the CIA and the

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KGB). The HIS relies on traditional intelligence work that can be organized either via Croatian embassies or directly from the central office in Zagreb. In its work, this service also relies upon numerous Croatian emigrants.

Beside the HIS, the Military Informative Service (VIS) also deals with intelligence work abroad, but unlike the HIS, its job is strictly limited to collecting information related to military activities, primarily from states engaged in war against Croatia or threatening war. Apart from that, the VIS also carries out concrete tasks, like collecting data on the enemy situation in certain areas where combat activity (theirs or ours) is expected. In its work, the VIS is subordinated to the chief of staff and the defense minister, but it is also obliged to forward all its information to the UNS, which compares it with the information collected by the HIS, the two sources thus complementing each other.

The existence of more or less independent military intelligence services has been a standard thing since armies became organized formations. Alexander the Great organized an military intelligence service that investigated the enemy forces and also gathered information about the area in advance of Alexander's army. In the world today, there is no army that does not have an organized intelligence service like the Croatian Army's.

Beside these two services, there is a third Croatian intelligence service abroad, that is, the so-called 5th Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which subordinates its work to the needs of Croatian diplomacy. This department works exclusively through the network of Croatian embassies in the world, and all its members are also Croatian diplomats. This manner of organizing intelligence activity is as old as diplomacy itself, and it is also used today. Moreover, many intelligence services in the world cover their activity by the pretend diplomatic status of their people, so that there is a saying that, in every embassy, there is at least one cultural attache who has never read anything but books about espionage. The popularity of the intelligence officers' diplomatic cover comes from the fact that that they acquire diplomatic immunity so that even if their spying activities are proved they cannot be arrested and tried.

The UNS is also responsible for the counter-intelligence service, the main task of which is to prevent intelligence and terrorist activities by strangers, but also by Croatian citizens. The service that is best known to the general public is SIS (Security and Informative Service), which works within the Croatian Army and has the main task of fighting espionage within the Croatian Army, but also fighting terrorism on the territory of the whole state. The frequent mentions of this service's name has drawn the general public to a wrong conclusion that the SIS is the main Croatian intelligence service, although its activity is mostly reduced to counter-intelligence activity.

The organization of the UNS has been aimed at achieving a better coordination of work between the aforementioned intelligence and counter-intelligence services, but also a better utilization of the data collected through their activity. In that way, with a minimal increase in the expense, far better efficiency should be achieved.

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FYROM: Coalition Parties Hold Talks on Reconstruction

AU0702215296 Skopje MIC in English 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Transrcibed Text] The reconstruction of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is reaching a final phase. The four parties of the ruling coalition convened yesterday behind closed doors, NOVA MAKEDONIJA reports. Such intensive party activity was prompted by the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance for Macedonia] party meeting on Monday [5 February], and especially its continuation yesterday, at which, according to all announcements, the definite proposal for the reconstruction of the Government was due to be drawn up. Yesterday, up till the statement by President Kiro Gligorov, in which he urged the SDSM and the LP [Liberal Party] to make one more attempt at finding a common and reasonable solution to retain the Alliance for Macedonia, the men from the highest SDSM leadership claimed they would not back down from the stand not to have any Liberal ministers in the new government cabinet, and that the Alliance for Macedonia could also survive with only two partners. By the time the newspaper closed, there was still no information whether this stand had been changed in the meantime. Otherwise, the Liberals were also in session yesterday, however, they were not inclined to give out any information, so the only thing we found out at this party's headquarters is that they should not be expected to release any kind of announcement and that no one has consulted them over the reconstruction so far.

PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], according to unofficial announcements, is already calculating which positions it would win if the Liberals actually left the Government, while the Socialists announced they would take an active part in the new government.

FYROM: Possible New Ministers in Reshuffled Cabinet

AU0802131996 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 8 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Z. Darkovska: "Reconstructed Government Without Liberals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to sources close to the party, two nights ago the Central Board of the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] held a long session on the reconstruction of the government and on President Gligorov's public address related to the newly developed disputes between the Social Democrats and the Liberals. The same sources say that President Gligorov also attended part of the session.

The session resulted with the Central Board's view that the government should be formed without the Liberals, and yesterday morning an unofficial list of the possible new ministers was released.

It was emphasized that there would be additional consultations about some of the names of the ministers and sectors, but reliable sources say that it is clear that the prime minister will offer the members of parliament a list ministers' names that exceeds one third of the present government, which automatically implies a parliamentary debate and voting for a new government. This reconstruction will also be used to fill deputy prime minister vacancies in the government and for the appointment of deputy ministers.

We discovered that Jane Miljovski, who is now minister of finance, will become the first deputy prime minister without portfolio. According to the unofficial proposal of the prime minister, the second deputy prime minister will be Bekir Zuta, who will also be in charge of the Ministry of Economy, which is now headed by Risto Ivanov, a Liberal. The third deputy prime minister would be Ljube Trpevski from the Socialist Party, who has so far been a minister without portfolio.

In addition to the mentioned changes, including the replacement of the minister of economy, new ministers will be appointed to the following ministries: Slobodan Unkovski is to replace Estref Aliu, present minister of culture. As new foreign minister—and this is one of the sectors that will be further discussed—Ljubomir Frckovski is now mentioned, who is presently minister of the interior. In such a case, Vlado Popovski, now minister of justice, would come to the position of minister of the interior (it is also possible that the two ministers will retain their present positions). In that case, there are speculations that the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] would fill the vacancy in the Ministry of Justice, and here the name of a member of parliament and high-ranking official is mentioned, but it seems that an agreement on this position has not been reached yet. In the new division of the posts, the PDP is expected to have five instead of the previous four ministerial positions in the government.

The position of minister of finance, which will be vacant after the appointment of Jane Miljovski as deputy prime minister, has been offered to Taki Fiti. There will be some changes in the Ministry of Education, where Emilija Simovska is expected to be replaced by Sofija Todorova, the current minister of science. So, this rotation would produce another vacancy and, as we discovered, it is expected to be filled by the new partner in the government coalition. Namely, the Albanian Democratic Alliance-Liberal Party [ADS-LP]

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is expected to join the reconstructed government and fill the vacant seat of the minister of science.

We also discovered that the Social Democratic Party will also be included in the coalition, but we were not able to find out which ministry would be headed by its member. On the other hand, two more ministerial positions, which have so far been occupied by the Liberal Party, will remain vacant—the minister of agriculture, which Ivan Angelov has occupied, and a minister without portfolio, which is Sasko Stefkov's position. These positions are expected to be filled by some new members of government. The rumors are that only Bekir Zuta will remain from the PDP, while its other three ministers are leaving. So, this party is expected to offer new people for the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, which was so far headed by Ilijaz Sabriu, as well as for the position of minister without portfolio that is presently occupied by Muhamed Halili, and if it is definitely agreed that the PDP is going to have five ministerial positions, they will additionally inform about the name of this person.

Our sources say that the following ministers will keep their positions in Crvenkovski's reconstructed cabinet: Blagoj Handziski, minister of defense; Dimitar Buzlevski, minister of transport and communications; Ilija Filipce, minister of health; and Jorgo Sundovski, minister of urban planning, civil engineering, and protection of environment.

Sixty-one votes are needed for a substantial reconstruction of the government. Without taking into account the calculations about further possible events, let us just mention the present number of parliamentary groups. Out of the total number of 120 parliament members, the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] has 59, and it is in coalition with the SDPM [Social Democratic Party of Macedonia], which has one member of parliament; the Liberal Party has 29 deputies, the PDP has 10 plus two former members of the NDP [People's Democratic Party], who joined it additionally. The Socialist Party has seven deputies, the NDP has two, the PCERM [Party for Full Emancipation of Romanies in Macedonia] has two, the DPT-PDA [Democratic Party-Party for Democratic Action]-Islamic Road coalition has one, the DPM [Democratic Party of Macedonia] has one, the PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians] has five, and there is one independent member of parliament.

FYROM: DP Critical of 'Oligarchic' Government

AU0802075796 Skopje MIC in English 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The written resignation of the minister- spokesman in the Macedonian Government Gjuner Ismail, as well as the dismissal of the director and editor in chief of the Macedonian Television Saso Ordanoski, was the motive for yesterday's news conference of the oppositional DP [Democratic Party], NOVA MAKEDONIJA reports. As the DP spokesman Jovan Manasievski stated, his party has no remarks in regard to minister Ismail's explanation of his resignation, and that the DP agrees entirely with his assertions regarding the character of the Government. "Ismail has explicitly accused his recent Government, its narrowest leadership and Prime Minister Crvenkovski himself, of a number of things. He says that this Government has no intention of fortifying democracy, that it is motivated only by its personal interests to profit, that it is strengthening the oligarchic type of rule. Every personal profiteering activity is camouflaged behind higher state interests," Manasievski said.

According to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Manasievski tabled the dilemma why the government spokesman had noticed those irregularities so late, and how much Ismail felt personally responsible for creating the picture he described in his letter of resignation, since, as Manasievski said, he was a direct participant in such oligarchic calculations.

On the occasion of the dismissal of the director and editor in chief of MRTV [Macedonian Radio and Television], the DP feels that such a step is a logical consequence of the politics, "that Ismail depicted so well," and that it is not the result of some kind of principled battle within the MRTV. "This change is a product of the party clashes between SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] and LP [Liberal Party]," Manasievski said.

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Poland: Christopher To Support Poland Regarding NATO

LD0702132296 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. policy on the issue of NATO expansion and Poland's acceptance as a member of the alliance will not change, according to Richard Holbrooke, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for Europe and Canada, who is visiting Poland. According to Holbrooke, Warren Christopher will express U.S. support for Poland's NATO aspirations at a meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and the new Russian foreign minister, which is to be held shortly.

On 7 February, Holbrooke met the leaders of all of the parliamentary floor groups. He also had a conversation with Bronislaw Geremek, head of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission. After the talks, he said that, for the time being, he could not mention any specific dates—everything depended on NATO decisions that would be made by the end of this year. He pointed out that the process of NATO expansion would not be accelerated but would not be slowed, either. The next 10 months will be crucial to Poland. In this period Poland should be able to resolve its problems in a democratic way.

Poland: Holbrooke Views Poland's Importance to U.S.

LD0702143596 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1355 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 Feb—No other country in Central Europe is of greater importance to the United States than Poland, Richard Holbrooke, U.S. under secretary of state for Europe and Canada, said today after his talks with Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati.

The expansion of NATO and the peace operation in Bosnia were the main topics of discussion. Holbrooke said the U.S. position on the issue of NATO expansion remains unchanged and is in accordance with directions included in an internal NATO report on the matter. He recalled that a meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and the new Russian foreign minister is to be held in Helsinki by the end of this week. "This will be an important meeting; it will also provide an opportunity to explain to Russia and the rest of the world that the expansion of NATO, when it comes into being, will play an important part in maintaining stability in Central Europe."

They also discussed the issue of Poland's joining other European organizations such as the European Union [EU] and the OECD. Holbrooke expressed appreciation for the Polish troops taking part in the peace operation in Bosnia; he had an opportunity to meet with Polish soldiers during his visit to Tuzla several days ago.

We spoke about international issues and not about the internal situation in the country, Minister Rosati said. He said that a report for the U.S. Congress on military aspects of the admission of Central European countries to NATO was not discussed and that he himself does not know the issue. Rosati said they also did not discuss a recent statement by [Russian Foreign] Minister Primakov on the possibility of deploying tactical missiles on CIS borders if NATO were to expand. In Rosati's view, one cannot take every statement by every minister literally because "these are diplomatic games."

Poland: New Prime Minister Meets Richard Holbrooke

LD0702213996 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] During a meeting with Richard Holbrooke this evening, Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz said that his government will continue the current economic and foreign policies.

The assistant secretary of state said that he has a great impression of the development of the Polish economy.

Earlier, at a meeting with journalists, Richard Holbrooke denied allegations that the aim of his one-day visit is to find out more on the Oleksy case.

Poland: Holbrooke Meets Former President Walesa

LD0702142096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1231 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 Feb—The conversation held on Wednesday between Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state for Europe and Canada, who is visiting Poland, and former President Lech Walesa was described by Andrzej Ananicz, Walesa's international affairs adviser, as "very personal."

Ananicz told journalists that the conversation concerned the current situation in Europe and the world. Polish affairs were also discussed. According to Ananicz, Walesa assured Holbrooke that he wants to contribute to the consolidation of democracy in Poland and to proreform policies.

The former president's adviser would not say whether the Jozef Oleksy case was discussed during the meeting. "The gentlemen said certain things to each other based on mutual trust—and those things are not for publication," Ananicz explained.

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Poland: National Security Head on Holbrooke Visit

WS0702144296 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Feb 96 p 6

[Report by M.W. and R.Bi.: "Richard Holbrooke Visits Warsaw; The American Sounding-Out Mission"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Richard Holbrooke*, deputy of the U.S. secretary of state for Europe and Canada, arrived in Warsaw on Tuesday night to, as he told the journalists who were waiting for him at the airport, "find out what is going on in Poland."

He did not confirm, however, that one of the main reasons for his current visit is the so-called case of Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy. He said that he had come to assure the Polish authorities about the importance of Poland to the United States. The American politician intends to present in Warsaw a report on his visit to Bosnia, which ended a few weeks ago. Holbrooke is accompanied by Dan Fried, head of the Department for Central Europe in the U.S. National Security Council.

The nature of the visit is "purely informative," RZECZPOSPOLITA learned from National Security Office [BBN] head Jerzy Milewski. According to him, the Polish side will not present any initiatives.

During my recent visit to the United States as the special envoy of the Polish president, the BBN head said, outside of the protocol, I invited Holbrooke to Warsaw on behalf of Aleksander Kwasniewski. We wanted to offer the U.S. representative a chance to see what the situation is like in Poland, Milewski told us. Moreover, we are hoping to talk about our efforts to join NATO, about our involvement in Bosnia, and about Polish-American cooperation. The real role that Holbrooke is playing is bigger than is suggested by the office he is holding. In addition, he knows a lot about Poland, and he is our supporter, Milewski stressed. Even though he will vacate his post soon, we believe he will return to the State Department relatively quickly. Holbrooke has been holding his office since mid-1994. He is leaving on 21 February.

Richard Holbrooke will discuss "a wide range of issues" with Polish politicians, Linda Jewell of the U.S. Embassy confirmed to RZECZPOSPOLITA. He is expecting to obtain from his interlocutors information on the political situation in Poland. Among the issues that are to be discussed, there are also the following: a review of U.S.-Polish relations, economic and political cooperation, including shortening the distance between Poland and NATO, and European security.

Holbrooke will also meet with President Kwasniewski, Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, Prime Minister-designate Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati, National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski, Chief of General Staff Tadeusz Wilecki, as well as with chairmen of several Sejm commissions and with the heads of economic ministries. He is also to hold a meeting with former President Lech Walesa. Jozef Oleksy, leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, will not be included among Holbrooke's interlocutors.

Poland: Kwasniewski Swears in New Government

LD0702155096 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1527 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 Feb—President Aleksander Kwasniewski swore in the Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz government on the afternoon of 7 February. Among 20 ministers of the new government, there are six from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], eight from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], and six independents.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is to be headed by Zbigniew Siemiatkowski (SLD), the Justice Ministry by Leszek Kubicki (independent), the Culture and Art Ministry by Zdzislaw Podkanski (PSL). Miroslaw Pietrewicz, hitherto head of the Central Planning Office, has also become deputy prime minister. Wieslaw Kaczmarek is to remain as privatization minister and Aleksandra Jakubowska as government spokesperson.

Poland: Cimoszewicz Government Holds First Meeting

LD0802124596 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1152 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 8 Feb—The first meeting of Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz's government was devoted, above all, to discussing issues connected with the organization and work of the Council of Ministers, the Government Information Center announced today.

Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz announced the continuation of the social, economic, and foreign policy of the two previous governments. In his view, the coming months should be devoted to completing tasks and actions already initiated. One of the new basic tasks will be the development of the state's social and economic policy until the year 2000.

The prime minister requested that ministers be open to consultation and dialogue with social partners, including opponents of government projects.

The prime minister announced that he will submit a motion to the Sejm speaker to add one item to the agenda for the next Sejm meeting concerning the prime

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minister's presentation of government policies and a vote of confidence in the government.

The topicality of existing government projects and drafts will be confirmed in the coming days. The members of the government are also expected to present their views on possible amendments to the government working schedule for the first half of this year.

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz considered necessary a meeting between the senior Cabinet members and the Sejm presidium in order to discuss the issues of legislative cooperation and its efficiency. In the prime minister's view, the meeting should take place before the end of February.

The government will hold regular meetings at 0900 every Tuesday, the communique says.

Poland: Kwasniewski: New Government Proof of Stability

LD0702164696 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1612 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 Feb—After the swearing-in ceremony on Wednesday of the Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz government, President Aleksander Kwasniewski said that this government provides proof of stability, consistency, and efficient action. The president hopes this government will survive until parliamentary elections in 1997.

Talking about the challenges facing the new government, Kwasniewski mentioned reform of social and health insurance, maintaining economic growth, and our country's membership in EU, NATO, and the OECD.

Cimoszewicz announced the continuation of social, economic, and foreign policy. He came out in favor of giving to Poles a greater feeling of security, a better tomorrow, and "greater, justified hope for the future."

The prime minister stressed that his cabinet will be open to dialogue with various political and social groups.

Poland: Cimoszewicz: All Ministers Have Been Vetted

LD0802101396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0912 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 8 Feb—The first meeting of the Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz government began this morning at the Council of Ministers Office. Before the meeting, the new prime minister announced that there will be no significant changes in the government's work but that he wants to introduce some facilities that will allow ministers to concentrate more on their departments' work.

"Government meetings are very important, but what people have to do in their own departments is even more important," Cimoszewicz added. Asked whether he already has a plan for cooperation with the opposition, which he announced yesterday during the swearing-in ceremony, he replied that he has, but he refused to disclose the details, arguing that "he will strive to do this instead of talking about it." Asked by journalists if he will return to his "clean hands" campaign, he replied: "Not in the way I did when I was justice minister. But strict respect for the law by civil servants will be one of the main principles in this government's work."

The prime minister let it be known that he has asked the interior minister to check a list of several dozen names as regards their possible collaboration with the security services in the past. "As you can see, there have been no surprising changes in the list of the Council of Ministers," he added.

Asked whether the appointment of Miroslaw Pietrewicz [head of the Planning Office] to the post of deputy prime minister means changes in economic policy, Cimoszewicz replied that the government's economic program remains unchanged and that there is only one man in charge of the economy.

Cimoszewicz expressed the hope that he will deliver his Sejm expose next Wednesday.

Poland: Walesa on Forming New Bloc, SLD, Plans

WS0702145296 Poznan WPROST in Polish 4 Feb 96 pp 17-18

[Interview with former Polish President Lech Walesa by Piotr Gabryel, Dobrochna Kedzierska, and Boguslaw Mazur; place and date not given: "Heroism and Treason"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [WPROST] Do you not think you made several mistakes in the Oleksy case?

[Walesa] I had to act with extreme caution. I tried to figure out whether the materials indicating that Oleksy had collaborated with the KGB were tampered with by the West because it did not want us to join NATO, or by the East for the same reasons. I did not suspect [former Interior Minister] Milczanowski of a provocation, but I did admit the thought that this might have been a provocation staged by foreign intelligence services. For the first time in my life, I spent two days trying to come up with a solution. In the end, I decided not to say anything and only ask our services to handle the case legally and in such a way so as not to hurt Poland. That is how it ended. I was advised to speak with Kwasniewski. I replied that, because of what I know

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about Kwasniewski, I am unable to speak to him, but suggested that the secret services should speak with him. And they did. [passage omitted]

[WPROST] Can the opposition make it without you? Is it capable of going on its own?

[Walesa] We come and go, but the earth continues to turn. There have always been many kings and hetmans. Of course they can make it. But I am here, and I will not allow myself to be ignored. That is why they will have to pay attention to me.

[WPROST] You have announced that you will unite political parties, threatening at the same time that, if you fail, you will create your own party, based on those who voted for you in the first round of the elections.

[Walesa] I am not making any threats. I am simply pointing out certain things. We cannot have two teams play together if one team—let us assume it is called the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]—plays soccer while the other plays basketball. Since there is a bloc on the other side, we should also create a bloc. Whoever does not join us is rooting for the other team. Naturally, to form a joint bloc we have to get together and work out an agreement on the constitution, privatization, decentralization, and separating the state administration from the economy. If we reach an agreement on these issues, we will develop draft laws, run in the elections together, and win. We might quarrel afterwards, but we should develop those first laws together.

[WPROST] Do you truly believe you can unite the splintered right?

[Walesa] I will speak about the necessity of going forward as a bloc in public. Meeting with various people, I will demonstrate I am playing not for myself, but for the entire bloc, for those who join it. Let us assume that two politicians refuse to join. I will take away their constituency. If I fail to form the bloc, I will get the 35 percent I already have plus anyone else who decides to join. The rest will be left stranded without an electorate because voters will support the group I intend to form.

[WPROST] Meanwhile, despite the Oleksy affair, the popularity of the SLD is growing.

[Walesa] Unlike us, the SLD activists do not attack each other even though they have their own internal problems. The public gets the impression that the post-Solidarity camp is full of brawlers. In reality, our camp is made up of free people who are not afraid to argue with each other if the good of the country requires it. The citizens, however, perceive this as disunity and squabbling. Enslaved people—and that is how I see the SLD—stick together out of fear of separating the good from the bad. That is why the nation, wanting accord, supports them.

[WPROST] Are you not disappointed that the church remained silent on the case of Oleksy until he resigned, that it did not speak even of the moral implications?

[Walesa] But what could the church have done in this case?

[WPROST] Is it a coincidence that a chance to ratify the Concordat appeared at this particular time?

[Walesa] This is a dirty game. Let us wait for the results. We will show how for two years words were not backed by deeds. We will show how dirty this game is. The church cannot speak out freely. How can it be sure who is playing for what?

[WPROST] How will this game end?

[Walesa] The current problems can be solved only by earlier parliamentary elections. If the SLD wins yet again, it will mean that everything we have been doing will have to be put aside because the nation wants to be governed by people affiliated with Moscow.

[WPROST] Who does Lech Walesa not want to be—a pensioner? a TV commercial actor?

[Walesa] Neither a pensioner nor an actor. I no longer want to be the one who destabilizes the country.

[WPROST] A president?

[Walesa] No. Not today. Today I want to be simply Lech Walesa.

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Romania: Iliescu Says Salary Law 'Corrupt,' 'Vicious'

AU0802074396 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 3 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by Razvan Mitroi: "President Iliescu Asks the Executive To Correct the Aberration of Corporation Heads Having Salaries of Millions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On a visit to Mures County, President Ion Iliescu admitted at the meeting with the members of the Administrative Council that there is a major salary discrepancy in the state apparatus. The president expressed his bewilderment about the fact that the director of ROMTELECOM is given a salary of 2.7 million lei, while the salary for the head of state does not go over 1 million. Iliescu asked the executive to examine the situation thoroughly and to eliminate the anomalies represented by some salaries for directors of firms that are subordinated to ministries, salaries that are higher than the salary of the minister himself. From his point of view, the head of state seems to be overruled by the constitutional procedures. He rejected from the very beginning the law on salaries of personnel employed in the parliament, but since the legislative body returned the draft in its initial form to Cotroceni [presidency], the president was compelled to promulgate the law against his own will. "It is a corrupt and vicious law..." said Ion Iliescu, mentioning that, in this way, discrepancy has been created between salaries of those employees and salaries of the executive apparatus and presidency.

Romania: Iliescu Interference in Party Dispute Criticized

AU0802080796 Bucharest ZIUA in Romanian 2 Feb 96 p 16

[Commentary by Adrian Patrusca: "Ion Iliescu Is in a Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The most embarrassing day in Ion Iliescu's presidential career was 31 January 1996—the day when the relationship between the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] and the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] broke up, was mended, and then broke up again. Depending on who stepped into the Cotroceni Palace to kiss his hand, Iliescu approved and then withdrew the dismissal of the PUNR minister of telecommunications, Adrian Turicu.

Iliescu actually disgraced himself. It is fortunate that the president also has a spokesman, whom he can blame for his own embarrassment. The little dog Chebeleu [Presidential Spokesman Traian Chebeleu], with a hangdog expression on his face, dutifully admitted to his role as presidential whitewasher. If anyone believes that Traian Chebeleu can issue Cotroceni communiques at his own whim, he must be crazy. Chebeleu has never had a personal initiative in his whole life. As a matter of fact, that is the very reason why he became spokesman, namely because he has no spirit of initiative. He is obedient.

But it is not Chebeleu's fate that interests us now. We are mainly concerned with the fate of the head of state, whose position has become very shaky. In keeping with the logic of world integration, Iliescu should have opted for breaking up with the PUNR, in order to prepare the historic embrace with the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]—like the CDR forswore on his former opposition allies.

The presidential stutter of last Wednesday [31 January] is proof of the fact that the script has not been written well and has some holes in it. But the whole presidential foul-up is further proof of the fact that Romania has not had a head of state for six years and that Iliescu is a surrogate and a substitute. Iliescu only plays it by ear and will never become a true conductor.

Romania's president had no business to interfere in the political games between parties. A prime minister in a civilized country (not Vacaroiu) does not need to go or send his envoys to the head of state for the latter to approve the dismissal of a minister. A serious party (not the PUNR) negotiates the fate of a portfolio with its coalition partner and does not throw his representatives into a limousine and send them to fall on their knees before the president (or blackmail him), hoping that the father of the nation will cancel the dismissal paper. Finally, a true president (not Iliescu) would not even think of interfering in the domestic political strife.

Ion Iliescu is in a crisis. It is possible that the hand extended to him by Clinton—in accordance with the forecasts of the masonic leader Dan Lazarescu—will be withdrawn. Or, it is possible that he is confused by the contradictory signals coming from the Kremlin. Anyhow, pay attention to the president! The crisis he is experiencing may make him extremely dangerous.

Romania: UDMR's Varga on PDSR Coalition Prospects

LD0702224196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Adrian Nastase, chairman of the leading Romanian government party, the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], does not rule out the possibility that a government coalition may be formed with the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR], but he has set tough conditions for this. Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest, also

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mentioning the fact that the UDMR does not reject the idea either, and that they have also set strict conditions.

[Bogdan] The UDMR's parliamentary deputy, Attila Varga, told the Hungarian radio's correspondent that they are ready to cooperate with all nonextremist Romanian parties which strive for democracy and which are not anti-Hungarian. The UDMR does not have an official stand on Nastase's statement, since they have not had a chance to coordinate on the issue. However, as a personal opinion, Varga stated that he does not consider the government party chairman's words more than election campaign rhetoric. At the same time, he considers as unacceptable the condition for cooperation set by the government party, that the UDMR give up its so-called unnaturally close relations with Hungary and recognize the constitution with its clause calling Romania a nation state.

Mr. Nastase cannot tell the UDMR what sort of relationships it can have with whom, until these relationships violate the law. The fact that we disagree with certain clauses of the constitution is not against the law either, since, despite this, we abide by the constitution's regulations. However, the UDMR also sets conditions for government cooperation with the PDSR, said deputy Attila Varga. He summed these up with the following words:

[Begin Varga recording] We have certain principles and a program to which we adhere. These are closely tied to the protection and reservation of national identity. We wish to receive legal guarantees that these demands will be fulfilled. [end recording]

Romania: Romanies in Cluj Will Not Vote for Funar

AU0602181596 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Calin Taut: "None of the Romanies Will Vote for Gheorghe Funar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The ethnic Romanies of Cluj intend to participate united in the coming local elections. They hope that all the Romanies in Transylvania will become members of their party. The political dissatisfaction of the Romanies in Cluj is related to the person of Cluj Mayor Gheorghe Funar. "Over the past four years Funar has not done anything for us. All he did was mock us. He has not granted a single apartment to any of the Romanies. He even refused to receive us when we wanted to talk to him," stated Ilie Gherbenes, president of the Free Democratic Union of the Romanies. Under such circumstances "none of the Gypsies will vote for Gheorghe Funar," he added.

The number of votes Funar will lose in this way amounts to about 10,000-12,000, as that is the estimated number of Romanies with the right to vote in Cluj.

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Slovenia: Demonstrators Protest Pension Amendments

AU0702215096 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Some 6,000 pensioners from all over Slovenia protested in front of the parliament today in opposition to the [recently passed] amendments to the pension law. They issued a protest declaration in which they expressed their indignation with the provisions, which abolish backdated pension adjustments and define anew the average pension for completed years of service.

The pensioners emphasize that the law is controversial from the viewpoint of a law-governed and social state and also clashes with the constitutional ban on curtailing the already acquired rights. A pension is an individual's right acquired through work and not a social welfare, the pensioners informed.

In their opinion, the success story of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia is proof that the party is stabilizing the economy at the expense of the pensioners while not reacting against lavish squandering of the state budget.

After the pensioners' protest gathering, their five-member delegation was received by Stefan Kociper, president of the parliamentary committee for labor, family, and social welfare. The delegation presented him with a three-point petition.

Slovenia: More Changes to Pension Legislation Announced

AU0702215196 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 7 Jan 96

[FBIS Translated Text] After the session [of the parliament], Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek voiced satisfaction with the rapid refurbishment of the government following the departure of the United List from the government coalition.

Regarding the appointment of the new state secretaries, Drnovsek said that the ministers will assess the situation in their departments, talk to each individual, and make decisions case by case.

As the prime minister said, he expected that representatives of the pensioners who protested against the changes to the pension legislation today would meet with him for talks because he had never rejected talks. He also voiced a belief that with this law, the government ensured the stability of the pension system. When asked about the legislative changes, he said:

[Begin Drnovsek recording] The law was passed. With it all the necessary, short-term corrections that will facilitate the further functioning of the system have been realized. Of course, the minister, together with an appropriate expert group and in cooperation with pensioners, he will draw some long-term changes—that is, additional mechanisms that will enable the functioning of the pension system. However, I believe that no interventions in the current rights will be required in connection with these changes and that it will be possible to maintain the current level of pensioners' rights in the long run as well. Therefore, we will not seek a solution in additional cuts, but in new, additional instruments. [end recording]

Slovenia: Parliament Elects Three New Ministers

AU0702214896 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At an extraordinary session this afternoon, the State Chamber elected three new ministers. The new government members are Janez Dular [minister of culture], Tone Rop [minister of labor, family, and social affairs], and Andrej Umek [minister of science and technology]. Marjan Rogelj reports from the parliament:

[Begin recording] The posts of the ministers of culture; labor, family and social affairs; and science and technology are, thus, filled. Judging by the outcome of the vote, one can say that none of the proposed candidates was in any danger of not being elected by the deputies in the secret ballot. Dular and Umek received 48 votes in favor and 31 against, while Rop was supported by 52 deputies and rejected by 27. All in all, 81 deputies took part in the secret ballot. One must point out that only the United List voted against all three of them. [passage omitted]

There were no other major objections, just as there were no deputies' speeches that would support the new ministerial candidates clearly and loudly. The vote proved that this was not necessary as the coalition agreement—into which some deputies from the opposition and from the independent group of deputies were evidently also drawn—was sufficiently tempting for the State Chamber to easily elect all three ministers. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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Slovenia: Kucan Said To Interfere in Defense Contract

AU0702140896 Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 2 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Marjeta Smolnikar: "Kacin Shocked Americans"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana—In connection with [Defense Minister] Kacin's purchase of a communications system (and shoes, as we have learned from reliable sources) for the needs of the Slovene Army from the Israeli company Tadirran, U.S. Ambassador to Slovenia Victor Jackovich on Friday requested a meeting with Prime Minister Drnovsek.

Because the prime minister was detained at the end of the previous week, he promised the ambassador that he would receive him on Tuesday. However, the meeting did not take place then either.

That the Defense Ministry really signed the agreement in question on 12 January 1996 transpires from a latter that Defense Ministry State Secretary Bojan Suligoj sent to the U.S. company Harris Corporation. In the letter he thanks the company for its efforts (in the presentation of its communications system in Slovenia) and simply informs them that the ministry has signed an agreement with another candidate, while at the same time he expects the company to remain interested in cooperation.

The Balkan habits of the Slovene politicians provoked a reaction from the Harris Corporation that could even end in an international scandal. Namely, on 26 January they sent a letter to Jelko Kacin and Bojan Suligoj (with copies sent to Slovene Ambassador to the United States Ernest Petric, and U.S. congressmen Robert Dole, Jesse Helms, Alphonse D'Amato, Connie Mack, and John Mic) in which they expressed surprise at a decision that (to put it mildly) is in western terms absolutely unorthodox. They are surprised that the Slovene buyers opted for another offer despite Harris' successful presentation of the system. They reminded Jelko Kacin of the fact that the U.S. Congress had to make a decision whether the U.S. company could compete in the Slovene invitation to bid (because of the embargo) and that the Congress had made a great exception with its approval. They consider the choice of the Israeli Tadirran as "not playing by the rules of the game" and the communication about the decision "shocking." They now expect a detailed explanation from the minister as to how, when, and on what basis he decided in favor of the Israelis, and above all, an answer whether the decision had been made prior to Harris' presentation in Slovenia. They are informing the U.S. ambassador to Slovenia that they wish to meet with him and the Slovene Defense Minister. All the above mentioned letters reached the prime minister's desk yesterday.

Supposedly, it is also undisputable that the deal for the purchase of shoes and several communication systems was signed with Iskra Commerce, to which the money was paid in two installments. From there the money was "dispersed" among other middlemen.

[Box 1, p 3]

It transpires from everything written above that this case constitutes a case of parallel lines of conducting Slovene foreign policy, that is, that somebody is "interfering" in this department. It seems that "the lead" runs directly to the president's office, and its origin can be traced back to the visit by Milan Kucan, Jelko Kacin, and Dusan Sesok to Israel [in February 1994].

Slovenia: Poll Shows Majority Favors Expert Government

AU0702191396

[FBIS Report] Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene on 1 February carries a report on the results of its opinion poll on the departure of the United List of Social Democrats (ZLSD) from the government coalition. The poll was carried out on 30 January among 714 randomly chosen telephone subscribers, of whom 185 were not available and 112 refused to take part. In the introduction, the author of the report, Vlado Miheljak, observes that "just as anticipated, the public divided the blame for the departure of the ZLSD evenly between [Prime Minister] Drnovsek and the party." An accompanying bar chart shows that 25.4 percent blamed the ZLSD, 22.3 percent blamed Drnovsek, 23.7 percent blamed both, and 28.3 percent were undecided. As Miheljak writes, younger people appear to like Drnovsek more, voters aged between 35 and 55 are divided evenly in their sympathies, while older voters explicitly favor the United List. The poll has also shown that 37.9 percent of pollees continue to support Drnovsek's coalition, 28.1 percent no longer support it, 23.5 percent do not know, while 10.6 percent will decide depending on the parties that will form the coalition.

As Miheljak concludes: "Doubtlessly, the support for Drnovsek's government will never be as high as it has been throughout the post-election period. In the period from March 1993 to January 1996, support for Drnovsek's government was on average 60 percent and never fell below an absolute majority. The ZLSD voters were its most disciplined supporters, while the voters of the Slovene Christian Democrats [SDK] often

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voiced even less support than the voters of the Slovene People's Party. The replies to the question about future support do not indicate that Drnovsek's government could compensate for the loss of the ZLSD with the voters of other parties."

Another Slovene daily, DELO, on 3 February carries the results of a similar opinion poll, which was conducted on 31 January and 1 February among 1115 randomly chosen telephone subscribers, of whom 168 were unavailable and 238 declined to take part. It transpires that the majority of pollees favor the formation of a technical government. When asked about the sort of government that would be the most appropriate in the time leading up to elections, 62.4 percent favor a technical government of experts, 13.2 percent a coalition consisting of the SKD and LDS, 11.1 percent the present coalition plus another party, 10.8 percent do not know, and 2.4 percent have other ideas.

As for the consequences of the ZLSD's departure, 23.1 percent believe that the United List will benefit most by its departure, 20.7 percent believe that the Christian Democrats will benefit, while 18.6 percent are of the opinion that the Liberal Democracy will benefit the most. Furthermore, 53.9 percent of the pollees believe that the government will survive until the regular elections, and 56.2 percent see no need for early elections.

When asked about the priorities that the government should concentrate on in the time leading up to elections, the answers were:

Economic problems—71.8 percent

Social problems—57.5 percent

Stability of the tolar—27.7 percent

Combat against crime—24.6 percent

Relations with Italy—24.6 percent

EU membership—13.7 percent

Regulation of relations with FRY—7.6 percent

Negotiations on the succession of the former state—6.5 percent

New election law—5.5 percent

Care for country's defense—4.5 percent

Cultural problems—3.5 percent

Other—2.3 percent

Don't known—3.8 percent

The poll also investigated views on recent changes to the pensions legislation, which abolished backdated pension adjustments. "The majority—55.6 percent—judge them to be negative, 32.3 percent positive, while 12.1 percent could not or refused to comment. Those who believe that this measure is correct are mostly of the opinion that it is not right that pensions are growing faster than salaries. Those who think it bad say that pensioners already have a hard time as it is or that the abolition of the already achieved rights is unacceptable." As the report points out, 25.9 percent of the pollees were pensioners.

Slovenia: Factory Produces Counterfeit German Marks

LD0702235596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2347 GMT 7 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Feb. 7 (TANJUG)—Vast quantities of counterfeit German marks produced in Slovenia have flooded the entire former eastern bloc, Ljubljana's daily LJUBLJANSKI DNEVNIK said Wednesday.

The former Yugoslav republic of Slovenia is the center of system for manufacturing counterfeit German marks and the heart of the operation is in the lake resort of Bled, said the daily, quoting the high-circulation German paper BILD ZEITUNG.

The factory of counterfeit bills is owned by a Slovene who is protected by diplomatic immunity and police have no access to his vast grounds in Bled, the Slovene daily said.

Huge amounts of counterfeit marks might cause serious damage to the international monetary flow and threaten the stability of the German national currency, the strongest in Europe, the daily said.

Most of the counterfeit money was used for purchasing arms for the Muslims in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Slovene government and police still have not reacted officially to the Hamburg daily's report.

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Federal

FRY: Kontic: Impossible To Demilitarize Srem-Baranja

LD0602161796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 6 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Davos, Feb. 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Radoje Kontic and U.N. special envoy for former Yugoslavia Cofi Annan agreed on Tuesday it was impossible in the current conditions to implement the decision on the demilitarization of the Srem-Baranja region (eastern Slavonia).

In the talks in Davos, Kontic said it would be dangerous if Croatia tried to resolve the question of this region using force, since there were constantly such threats from Zagreb.

Kontic said the demilitarization of this region was not possible until the peace agreement signed between Croatia and the local Serbs in the autumn of 1995 was implemented in full.

The Yugoslav prime minister said Croatia's efforts to infiltrate the regional organs of authority were dangerous, since this would cause apprehension among Serbs and possibly a new exodus.

Kontic also spoke about the problem of the Prevlaka peninsula between Croatia and Yugoslavia. He said Croatia had reneged on the agreement signed in Dayton on a triple exhange of territories which would have resolved this issue.

This is the reason why mutual recognitons of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia have not taken place yet, Kontic said.

Under the agreement, Croatia had agreed to place this strategic cape under Yugoslavia's control and narrow access to the Adriatic Sea under the control of Bosnian Serbs, in exchange for territories in the Dubrovnik hinterland controlled by Republika Srpska (the Bosnian Serb Republic).

Annan expressed full understanding for Yugoslavia's stands and said he shared Yugoslavia's concern regarding these issues.

He said he was also at this time against the demilitarization of the Srem-Baranja region, and added that the United Nations had been relieved when a resolution on the extension of the mandate of U.N. observers in Prevlaka had been passed.

Annan informed the Yugoslav prime minister that the operation to settle the problem of Prevlaka would be coordinated from his office and that a U.N. liason officer would soon be appointed in Belgrade.

The U.N. envoy also spoke about the situation in Sarajevo, which he described as dangerous. Conditions will be created for Serbs to remain in Sarajevo, and to secure their personal and material safety, he said.

Annan said a general amnesty was necessary for all those who had taken part in the war but committed no war crimes so that people could remain in their homes.

FRY: Kontic Stresses Need To Lift Sanctions

AU0702200096 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Report by Gordana Buncic on a news conference by FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic at Belgrade airport on 7 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Buncic] FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic assessed positively the participation of the FRY delegation in the work of the Davos gathering [World Economic Forum]. This means another reaffirmation of Yugoslavia, Radoje Kontic said, among other things:

[Kontic] We should be satisfied or even very satisfied with the results of our delegation's participation in the World Economic Forum, in the part regarding the globalization of relations in the word and the maintenance of development and even more in the part regarding the perspectives for peace in the Balkans. As the Yugoslav delegation, we embraced and supported wholeheartedly the basic motto of this forum, namely, that peace in the Balkans is only possible in the conditions of a rapid, economic, and entrepreneurial development.

However, by accepting such a definition as definitely undisputable, the Yugoslav delegation also pointed out that the realization of such a goal is risky or rather not entirely certain in the conditions where the international community has imposed restrictions and limitations primarily on the FRY, but also on the Serb Republic [RS]. Departing from this we insisted particularly that, in order to realize this goal in the form that the forum had set for itself, the sanctions against the FRY and the Serb Republic should be lifted unconditionally and without delay, the full reintegration of FRY should be safeguarded—in the United Nations, the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, and international financial and trade organizations—and the relations with the European Union and other European integrations should be normalized.

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FRY: Kontic, Hungary's Gonz Discuss Sarajevo in Davos

LD0602150896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 6 Feb 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Davos, Feb. 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic expressed concern, in talks with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz in Davos on Tuesday, over the situation in Sarajevo because of the stand of the Muslim authorities toward the local Serbs.

Dr. Kontic underscored that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was determined and resolved that Serbs must remain in Sarajevo, and that international forces should secure guarantees for their personal safety and that of their property.

In the talks of the two statesmen, who are taking part in the world economic-political forum in Davos, satisfaction was expressed with the realization of the Dayton accords, especially its military component.

Kontic urged the comprehensive development of cooperation between Hungary and Yugoslavia, adding that it was necessary also to step up the realization of business arrangements agreed during the recent visit of Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn to Belgrade.

Goncz also urged intensive economic, political, and all other forms of cooperation between the two countries and promised Hungary's support in the normalization of relations and Yugoslavia's reintegration into world organizations and institutions.

FRY: Commentary on Significance of Christopher Visit

AU0702203496 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Feb 96 p 8

[Commentary by Aleksandar Djordjevic: "Have We Heard Christopher?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The media "broken telephone" system continued to apply in full even after the visit of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Belgrade. Whoever watched Dnevnik [1830 GMT television newscast] on Sunday or merely glanced at the front pages of yesterday's papers would get the impression that the chief of the State Department arrived in Belgrade after four and a half years to discuss bilateral cooperation and the expansion of friendly (?) relations and to hear that the United States and FRY were the key factors in the achievement of peace in Dayton and that Yugoslavia was open to cooperation on an equal footing with the entire world.

These topics are not disputable, however, would Christopher come for the sake of issues that could have been discussed by his numerous assistants who have passed through Belgrade over the past 10 days?

The Yugoslav public could hear the reasons for Christopher's visit presented neatly at a news conference at the Belgrade Interkontinental Hotel. The visit of the secretary of state, as is already clear now, put an end to two issues over which lances were breaking in domestic public and international circles—the cooperation with The Hague war crimes tribunal and the opening of the U.S. information center in Kosovo. Both issues were resolved positively, for the Americans, naturally.

For the correspondents, Christopher emphasized the Kosovo issue a lot more than the war crimes' issue. Giving the southern Serbian province a status that would protect the human, civic, and political rights of "the residents" is the fundamental interest of the U.S. policy regarding Kosovo and will be one of the guiding principles of the U.S. policy toward the FRY. The integration of the FRY in the international community and the normalization of relations with the United States will, naturally, also depend on it. So much for domestic insistence that the Kosovo issue is an internal matter.

The question of Yugoslav cooperation in the investigation of war crimes appears to be something that is not at all controversial after Christopher's visit, however, the news about the opening of the tribunal's office in Belgrade was published in the media on the sidelines. Naturally, The Hague investigators will not work "on the sidelines" and they will also have the opportunity to hear the testimonies of those who survived the crimes of the other side, however, what is a lot more embarrassing, they will perhaps obtain documents that will show that Yugoslavia was not all as detached from the war as has been maintained over the past four years.

The news that Elisabeth Rehn [UN human rights rapporteur] is cruising around Bosnia and professing that doubtlessly the thousands of (missing) people from Srebrenica are actually dead and that the story about the "internal Muslim clash" today sounds even less plausible than it did when it was launched by Vladislav Jovanovic in the United Nations does not merit the attention of the Yugoslav peace makers. Perhaps a similar statement is expected from John Shattuck, with whom Christopher cooperates excellently, as he said. Otherwise, Mrs. Rehn still has not obtained definite approval for the opening of her bureau in the FRY.

All in all, Christopher's visit brought many unpleasant things out into the open; however, such is reality. One chooses one's friends by one's own standards, and those

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who compete and want to be one's friends one can also pinch a little.

FRY: TANJUG Views NATO Concern About Bosnia

LD0702132396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1213 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Unattributed article: "NATO Circles Concerned Over Latest Developments in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Feb. 7 (TANJUG)—The recent arrest of Bosnian Serb officers by Muslim authorities in Sarajevo could greatly aggravate the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to NATO sources here.

The sources said the action of Muslim authorities was all the more dangerous since the Hague-based International War Crimes Tribunal had not instituted proceedings against the arrested individuals.

It is beyond any doubt that a witch hunt or any other similar action on the part of any of the sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina can only lead to a deterioration of the situation in the field and make more difficult IFOR's [Implementation Force] task.

The unfavourable developments come only a week after the favourable assessments of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina by NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana.

FRY: Army To Provide Special Diet for Believers

LD0802132996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0914 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—The Quartermaster's Office of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] has prepared a draft book of diet regulations for the Yugoslav army in peacetime, which makes provisions for a special diet during religious holidays for soldiers who are practicing believers.

Colonel Arandjeo Stevanovic, spokesman for the VJ General Staff Quartermaster's Office, told TANJUG that the regulations, which should be adopted by the end of the month, allow for the possibility of "one of the three lunch meals being prepared without animal fats or meat and with fish and vegetable fats to provide for special dietary needs of soldiers who are practicing believers, providing this is requested by at least 50 people."

This right, however, depends mainly on financial and material resources, as it is necessary to have not only the right ingredients, but also technical conditions for their preparation and serving, Colonel Stevanovic said. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Serbia: Kontic Lauds FRY Participation in Davos

AU0702161796 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 7 Feb 96

[Statement by FRY Prime Minister Radoje Kontic upon his return from the World Economic Forum, in Belgrade on 7 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kontic] Above all, I would like to say that the World Economic Forum is actually a gathering of international statesmen, politicians, economists, experts, businessmen, [word indistinct], and so forth that has been organized in Davos, Switzerland, for 25 years and that [words indistinct] global issues of development and economic relations in the world.

The topic this year was how to maintain development in the conditions of globalization, however, what was particularly interesting for the Yugoslav delegation was the topic: The perspectives for peace in the Balkans. I would say that this was an opportunity for the Yugoslav delegation to participate in such an international forum for the first time after the sanctions, to convey its vision of the Yugoslav crisis, [words indistinct] linked to the issues of Balkan cooperation and international relations. Here, I would point out that the Yugoslav delegation was received, I would say, with great reverence and that the stance of the Yugoslav delegation was studied carefully and particularly acknowledged.

If I were to assess briefly the results of our visit and the talks that we held within the plenary sessions and bilateral talks, then I would [word indistinct] that we can be satisfied or even very satisfied with the results of our delegation's participation in the World Economic Forum.

Serbia: Opposition Reacts to Christopher Visit

AU0702180096

[FBIS Report] Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian on 7 February carries on page 6 three unattributed reports on the Serbian opposition parties' reaction to the visit to Belgrade by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on 4 February.

According to the first report, entitled "Yielding to the United States Step By Step," the "Serbian Liberal Party takes the view that, after the 'inspection' visit by U.S. Secretary Warren Christopher, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has stated that relations between the two countries are improving 'step by step.' The party considers these steps to be the opening of a U.S. Information Center in Pristina, the opening of an office of the International Tribunal for war crimes committed

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on the territory of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, the extradition of all suspected Serbs, and autonomy for the Albanians in Kosovo.

"In return, Serbia is only getting a Slobodan Milosevic with more personal power of at the federal level," the Serbian Liberal Party, claims.

The second report, entitled "Milosevic Should Be Replaced," cites the Serbian Radical Party as saying that "the headless and subservient diplomacy of Slobodan Milosevic received several extra pieces of homework during the visit of the U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

"Since the U.S. intelligence service has already chosen a building in Pristina in which it plans to accommodate its information center, it remains to be seen which building in Belgrade is going to be used as a sanctuary for The Hague Tribunal officials who would be arresting the Serb leaders from the Serb Republic from there.

"The Serbian Radical Party takes the view that 'all these demands and the obliging response by the Serbian president show that our country is without sovereignty and independence,' and that, therefore, Slobodan Milosevic must be replaced.

"The Serbian Radical Party has promised that it will soon organize a petition for the replacement of the Serbian president.

"While the signatories are being collected, Milosevic could address the nation and explain to the frightened people that Serbia will not get an administrator from Washington, as Mostar did from Germany."

The last report, entitled "New Slaps for Belgrade," says that the "Serbian Renewal Movement claims that the Radio and Television of Serbia has concealed the real reason for the visit by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Belgrade.

"The warning by Warren Christopher that every provision of the Dayton Agreement must by implemented fully and unconditionally was not only addressed to Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic, but primarily to Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian regime."

According to the report, "the Serbian Renewal Movement accuses the correspondents from TV Bastille of trying once again to deceive the public with embellished reports.

"The concealment of the real message with which the guests from Washington came to Belgrade, tells us enough about the readiness of the Serbian regime to meet the undertaken obligations from the Dayton agreement. Spite has been and remains the main characteristic of the current Serbian policy. The price for this policy has been and is being paid by all of us, the Serbian Renewal Movement warns."

Serbia: Commentary Assesses Christopher Visit

AU0702214596 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Feb 96 p 2

[Commentary by H.D.A.: "Improvements in Relations Between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the United States"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The last time a U.S. secretary of state visited Belgrade was in June 1991. This happened when James Baker came to the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade, where he held separate talks with the members of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Presidency. We know what happened after that.

The visit by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher the day before yesterday, the first visit after so many years, indicates the opening of the path to the full normalization of bilateral relations between the FRY and the United States.

Addressing correspondents after the two-and-a-half-hour talks, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic stressed that this was a very important visit, the first such visit by a U.S. secretary of state to Belgrade in the last five years and that the visit represented more than a symbolic sign of the change in relations between the two countries.

"We essentially discussed two important topics. One is the overall implementation of the Dayton Agreement. We are both optimists in that respect. The other topic were our bilateral relations, which are improving step by step. Both of us were optimists with regard to that issue, too," Milosevic said.

Warren Christopher said, among other things, the following: "I am very pleased at having received new assurances from the president about the resolve to implement the Dayton Agreement. I am leaving with the conviction that the implementation of the agreement will continue, and I hope to see further improvements in our relations step by step." At the news conference in the Belgrade Intercontinental Hotel, Secretary of State Christopher summed up his Balkan tour. From his answers to correspondents, one can conclude that, in Zagreb and Sarajevo, he warned his collocutors about the importance of preserving the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the respect of human rights, and the need to enable refugees to return home. He stressed the importance of the efforts aimed at making Bosnia an open society. He called for the release of prisoners of war, supported the decision that all foreign mercenaries should leave

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Bosnia, and spoke in favor of the need to build confidence between the authorities and the Serb civilians in Sarajevo.

"Peace is beginning to take root in the former Yugoslavia, and we must do our best to preserve it," Christopher stressed.

Regarding the possibility of the United States recognizing the FRY, Christopher said that he was not prepared to give a specific date, but that he was prepared to say that, if friendly relations between the United States and the FRY continue, more progress will be made in relations between the two countries.

The U.S. secretary of state stated with pleasure that, with the consent of President Milosevic, he will open a U.S. Information Center in Pristina, and that such a center in Belgrade will continue to operate. They stressed that such and similar U.S. information centers could and should be opened in Novi Sad, Nis, and other places. The same applies to similar information centers of Yugoslavia in the United States. It is also necessary for our country to open such centers in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Pittsburgh. This should be understood as one of the quick moves that would contribute to the creation of better contacts and understanding between the peoples. In this way, it is easier to explain the endeavor for the protection of human rights and the rights of citizens in Kosovo. Christopher undoubtedly confirmed again Washington's stand that all contentious issues between the residents of Kosovo and Metohija must and should be settled in a dialogue with the authorities in Belgrade, within the FRY. The situation regarding cooperation between Yugoslavia and The Hague Tribunal is also clear. According to the Dayton Agreement, all counties are obliged to investigate war crimes. After all, Belgrade announced officially several months ago that all three sides that took part in the civil war in Bosnia should be held equally responsible for war crimes.

What should also be stressed on this occasion after the visit by the U.S. secretary of state is the joint belief that the successful course of implementing the peace plan for Bosnia will continue until the envisaged completion. Warren Christopher's visit should serve as an impetus to the future development of bilateral relations and better mutual understanding between the FRY and the United States.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Albanian Membership in SPS Increasing

LD0802112296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0906 GMT 8 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—At the electoral conference of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Glogovac, a municipality with a majority [ethnic] Albanian population, it was said that a large number of members, mainly Albanians, joined the party in the past year since the SPS municipal council was founded.

In reference to this, Chamilj Gasi, the former and newly elected chairman of the SPS municipal council, told TANJUG today that the interest among the Albanians in the SPS is an expression of their willingness to actively participate in the political life of Serbia with the aim of contributing to the efforts to speed up the resolution of current problems in their own environment.

"We should not be labelled 'traitors' of our own people because we have joined the SPS. It was we, the socialists and the SPS leadership, who initiated actions to solve many economic and municipal problems faster. This is in the interest of the people of the area, who are mainly Albanians employed by Feronikl and other firms or working for the health service and state bodies," Gasi said.

The SPS offers peace, equality, respect for human and minority rights, and this is not and will not be offered by any party with a national or nationalist program, Gasi said and went on to stress that the increasing number of Albanians who are joining the SPS is a reality which cannot be ignored.

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